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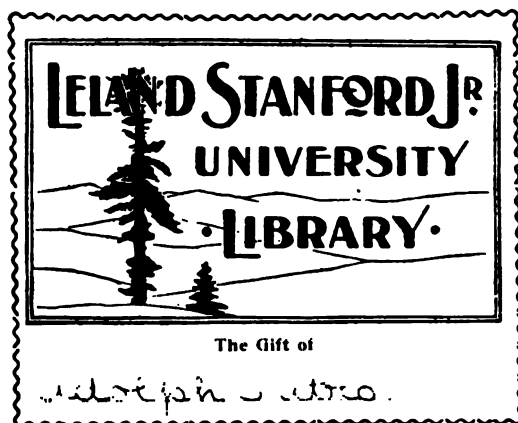
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373.16
v58!

The image shows the front cover of an antique book. The cover is bound in brown leather, with the spine and corners reinforced. The main surface is covered in marbled paper with a complex, wavy pattern in shades of brown, green, and blue. The leather binding shows signs of wear and age. A small, dark, rectangular label is affixed to the lower left corner of the cover, containing the text '373.16' and 'v58!'. The book is resting on a surface with a black and white checkered pattern visible in the background.





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#3232



DESIGN ILLUSTRATING VESPECCI'S DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

AN ORIGINAL DRAWING BY STRADANUS, ABOUT 1580

THE FIRST FOUR
VOYAGES
OF
AMERIGO VESPUCCI

*Gift
1
Gladstone*

REPRINTED IN FACSIMILE
AND
TRANSLATED
From the rare original edition (Florence, 1505-6).

27031

LONDON
BERNARD QUARITCH
15 PICCADILLY

1893

H.

LONDON:
G. NORMAN AND SON, PRINTERS, HART STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.

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ELAND - 1915

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PREFACE.

THE name of the Florentine is imperishably recorded in that of the New World. We all know that it was not he who invented the word America, and that no portion of the wrong inflicted on Columbus attaches to Vespucci. Formerly, however, it was not unusual to find him abused as a base supplanter who had maliciously stolen the glory of his fellow-countryman. That feeling has not wholly passed away even from the minds of those who ought to be exempt from prejudice. While acquitting Vespucci on the charge of theft, they raise a fresh indictment against him for forgery. It is to be hoped that the second accusation will be dropped in time like the first; and that the world will learn to speak of the Florentine in the words of Columbus "Amerigo Vespucci . . is a very worthy man; fortune has been adverse to him as to many others. His labours have not benefited him so much as justice would require." This testimony was written by Columbus to his son Diego in February, 1505, a date which is significant in connexion with the allegations made by Humboldt and others to the discredit of Vespucci. His "Four Voyages"—that is, his first four voyages to the New World, are described by himself as having taken place in 1497-98, 1499-1500, 1501, and 1503-04; the first two in the Spanish service, the other two in that of the King of Portugal. The impugnors of his veracity assert that the first voyage was made with Alonso de Hojeda in 1499, not in 1497, and that his account of it is wilfully falsified and garbled so that he might magnify himself by concealing the names of the men under whom he

sailed, and by giving an exaggerated idea of the work done. It would follow, as a matter of course, that the second voyage was wholly fictitious, and that the third and fourth ought to be called second and third. Then it is said that the "*Quatuor Navigationes*" was first published in 1507—an assumption to be corrected below—and that, consequently, Amerigo had no longer the fear of Columbus (dead in 1506) before his eyes when he uttered his fabricated narrative.

The fact is that Vespucci's first published *Epistola* contains a clear reference to three voyages which he had already made, two of them "*ex mandato serenissimi Hispaniarum regis.*" As he wrote that letter before June, 1503, and as all bibliographers agree that it was printed (in a Latin form) three or four times in 1503 (although the first dated edition did not appear till 1504) and several times in 1504-5, Columbus must have been well aware of Vespucci's pretensions at the date (1505) when he recommended him as a worthy man who "has ever had a desire to do me pleasure." This circumstance suffices to upset a portion of the anti-Vesputian case. It gives absolute proof that in 1502-3 the facts and dates given in the book of 1507 had been publicly announced by or for Vespucci; and the absence of all contemporary denial enables us to accept his account as equally veracious with the narratives of other explorers. Confused and ill-written we must allow it to be; for although Vespucci had been educated by his own uncle as a fellow-pupil with Pier Soderini (the future head of the Florentine republic), he became in later days, probably through companionship with the Spanish and Portuguese seamen, almost unfit to handle a literary pen. The "*Lettera*" now reproduced gives ample evidence of that fact, being written in rude and ungrammatical language, jargonised by the admixture of Spanish or Portuguese words and idioms. Such as it is, however, we must regard it as the only genuine piece of sustained composition which Vespucci has left; the *Epistola* being extant only in a Latin version, and the well-written letters published by Italian editors in the last and the present century, being admittedly supposititious and modern.

The great interest which attaches to Vespucci's first voyage

Preface.

lies in the probability that he sailed along the entire coast of the Mexican gulf as far as the point of Florida, and some distance up the shores of what is now Carolina. A side-light is thrown upon the subject by the map of the New World which appeared in the Latin Ptolemy of 1513, and which had been in the wood-engraver's hands six years earlier. That map, we have some reason to suspect, was derived from Vespucci's design. It is, in fact, called "the Admiral's map" by the editor of Ptolemy, and has, on the strength of that name, been assigned rather to Columbus or Cabral than to Vespucci. It gives to the continental shores behind and above Cuba a conformation which agrees tolerably with the actual outline of the coast from Central America to Florida; and only a very special pleader can persuade us that it is meant for anything else. Columbus, although he was a map-maker, did not possess sufficient knowledge to have designed that particular map; Cabral was a nobleman and soldier, who had neither the knowledge nor the skill required. Only Vespucci remains, and only in the narrative of his first voyage can we find any hint of such a course of exploration as would furnish the chartographer with the necessary details. As a commander of one of the ships in the Portuguese expedition of 1503-4, he would probably be regarded among foreigners as a Portuguese admiral.

The "Lettera" was printed, as the type indicates, by Gian Stefano di Carlo di Pavia at Florence not earlier than 1505, and not later than 1516. As a matter of demonstrable fact, it must have appeared in the former year. The substance has been familiar to the world since the publication of the Latin translation in 1507, but the Italian text seems to have virtually dropped out of sight from the time of its appearance down to the middle of the last century, when Bandini met with a single copy. Even now only five copies are recorded: one is in the British Museum, a second in the Biblioteca Palatina at Florence, a third belonged to Varnhagen and is perhaps now in Brazil, a fourth was in the Capponi library at the beginning of this century; and the fifth (from which the present reproduction is derived) is in the library which belonged to the late Charles Kalbfleisch of New York. Thus it has been practically inacces-

sible and unknown to the world ; while the faulty Latin version frequently reprinted and translated since 1507 has, in its blunders, furnished the anti-Vesputians with arguments which a sight of the actual Italian original could have nullified.

Amerigo Vespucci is always said to have been born on the 9th March, 1451, but I suspect an error in the date. 1461 would harmonise better with his position as a student in 1476, when he wrote a boyish letter in Latin to his father. His uncle Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, a friend of Savonarola, was his tutor, and one of his fellow-pupils was that Pier or Pietro Soderini who became in 1502 the Gonfaloniere or Chief of the republic of Florence. He had friends likewise among the Medici, to whose expulsion from the city in 1502 Soderini owed his elevation to that dignity. Vespucci remembered them both in the after years, since he sent several letters to his patron, Lorenzo di Pier Francesco dei Medici (of which only one, the Latin *Epistola*, has survived) and addressed his "*Lettera*" to Soderini. He was despatched to Cadiz by Lorenzo di Pier in 1492, on business of the Medici banking-house, and he seems to have remained there trading or speculating on his own account after the object of the mission had been attained. He was employed by the Spanish sovereigns in 1496 to complete a contract which had been undertaken by the naval outfitter, Berardi (now dead), for the supply of some ships to the king. Ferdinand was engaged in a speculation of his own, and Vespucci took service on one of the four vessels which were sent out by the king for adventure in the New World, and which started from Cadiz on May 10th, 1497. His function was probably that of astronomer and chartographer, under the command of Vincente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis, although he does not mention their names, but writes as if he were himself master of one of the ships. He returned to Cadiz on October 15th, 1498. The account of the voyage is anthropological rather than geographical. From the distances traversed and the latitudes specified (usually with exaggeration) he seems to have reached Honduras on the 4th July and thenceforward to have sailed along the coast—nearly always in sight of it—in a direction necessarily verging northward, for 870 leagues (as he computed, which would ordinarily be equal to 3480 miles, but

his leagues, like those of Columbus, were always meant to represent three miles) until he turned back in the August of the following year. Only two geographical names are mentioned in this long voyage: the province of Lariab and the island of Ity. Neither can be identified, but the former was perhaps in the region of Vera Cruz, and the latter cannot have been the island of Ha-iti, since it was reached in a seven days' voyage E.N.E. from the continental coast. It may have been Lucayo.

He went out again in an expedition of three ships led by Alonso de Hojeda, which started from Cadiz on May 16th, 1499. He reached Brazil on June 27th, and sailed along the northern coast line of South America as far as Venezuela; then proceeding northward from the islands of St. Margaret and Curaçao, followed his commanders to San Domingo. Vespucci stayed there for two months and a half, during which time he must have seen Columbus, to whom he alludes as being then on the island. He returned to Cadiz on September 8th.

Towards the close of 1500, Vespucci was induced to transfer his services to Dom Manoel of Portugal, and on May 10th, 1501, sailed in an expedition of three ships to the South American coast. On the 17th August he touched at Cape St. Roque, and then turned southwards, reaching Bahia on November 1st, and the harbour of Rio on January 1st, 1502. The object aimed at in this voyage seems to have been to find a south-western passage, as it had been in the two preceding to discover a north-west passage. When they failed somewhere in the latitude of La Plata, Vespucci struck out southwardly into the ocean until at 52 degrees S.L. he thought it time to return. On May 10th he reached Sierra Leone and arrived in Lisbon on September 7th. It was about the close of the year when he wrote the letter to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco dei Medici, which is so well known in its Latin form, the Italian original having perished. We know who was the translator—Fra Giovanni del Giocondo, of Verona, then residing in Paris—but we do not know how the original got into his hands, although Vespucci's reference to his friend Giuliano del Giocondo, at the beginning of his account of the third voyage, suggests an explanation. This Latin Epistola was printed several times in 1503 and 1504, the first edition

being probably the undated Paris one by Jehan Lambert. It circulated so widely, and became so well known, that the fame of Vespucci began to overshadow that of Columbus. The Florentine thus became accidentally the rival and supplanter of the Genoese, but had himself no part in shaping the circumstances. Neither he nor Columbus ever published a narrative by any personal exertion or desire. Each of them wrote letters which passed from the hands of their recipients into those which consigned them to the press. The *Epistola* is not an account of Vespucci's third voyage, as it is usually considered, but a sort of gossip, anthropological account of the savages he had seen in the New World, with a special reference to some portion of his third voyage. Ramusio regarded it as a summary of two voyages. It was probably Vespucci's intention at some time to publish his journal—which at that time he called his "*Tre Giornate*," but, in 1504, after his return from the fourth voyage, "*Le Quattro Giornate*." From the nature of his references to it, that journal must have been a much ampler and more exact record of his wanderings than we possess otherwise, and was apparently illustrated with charts and drawings. We venture to express a hope that the manuscript may yet be found in some Spanish hiding place.

On the 10th of May (or June), 1503, he sailed again from Lisbon, and was very unsuccessful, but left twenty-four men with provisions in a fort at Cape Frio (near Rio Janeiro), and returned to Lisbon, which he reached on June 18th, 1504. This was far from being the last of his American voyages, but it was the last he had accomplished, when, on September 4th of that year, he wrote the long "*Lettera*" here reproduced, giving an account of his four expeditions. In its printed form, it is addressed to an individual of high rank in Florence concerned in the government of the State, whom he reminds of their early association as pupils under Fra Giorgio Vespucci. This individual, to whom he forwarded his letter by the hands of Benvenuto di Domenico Benvenuti, is clearly revealed by that circumstantial evidence as Pier Soderini, the anti-Medicean Gonfaloniere of Florence. The autograph letter must naturally have borne his name; why this is omitted in the printed book can only be guessed at. The publisher was

apparently Pietro Pacini di Pescia, an adherent of the Medici party, and therefore adverse to Soderini. None of the books which were issued by him during the reign of Soderini contained any of the formal dedications to the Gonfaloniere which were used by other contemporary publishers at Florence, and it was probably he who suppressed Soderini's name. The letter got into his hands, perhaps, in the form of a copy made by Benvenuti. Gian Stefano di Pavia, mentioned above, who set it in type, was Pacini's printer from 1505 to 1513, but was not in the habit of setting down his own name till the latter year. His imprint appears for the first time, along with Pacini's name, in the "*Giostra di Giuliano dei Medici*," which came out in 1513 after Soderini's death and the restoration of the Medici; but three of the books produced by Pacini in 1505 are in Gian Stefano's types, identical with those of the "*Lettera*." Gian Stefano used the same types still in 1516 when he printed Corsali's letter about East India, but the woodcut design on the title of Vespucci's *Lettera* belonged to Pacini and had been used by him as far back as 1493. The honorific title with which Vespucci addresses Soderini throughout the *Lettera* is *Vostra Magnificentia*, everywhere except in the first instance abbreviated into *Vostra Mag.* or *V. M.* This is a point to be noted, in connexion with the following circumstances.

One of the members of the St. Dié gymnasium (or college) was Jean Basin de Sendacour, who in 1503 was in Paris and conveyed thence a copy of Vespucci's *Epistola* to his friends at St. Dié, chief among whom were Gautrin Lud, Nicolas Lud, Philesius (Ringmann) and Hylacomylus (Waldseemüller), men who were busy in reviving the scientific literature of the ancients. It was probably he, or Philesius, who had the good fortune to obtain a copy of the "*Lettera*" some time before 1507. One of them translated it, or got it translated, into French; and from the French version a Latin translation was made, as Lud stated, by Basin. The translator into French was of course ignorant of the name of the potentate to whom the original was addressed, since the *Lettera* bore no indication of it; and the Latiniser, receiving the letter along with some maps from his sovereign, Duke René of Lorraine, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, was misled into the

blunder of supposing that *V. M.* and *Vostre Mag.* stood for *Vostre Majesté* and were addressed to René. It is singular that his eyes were not opened by the allusion to "our school-companionship under Fra Giorgio," since any such association in boyhood between the Florentine seaman and the sovereign prince of Lorraine would have been an impossibility. The letter was printed thus in Latin, with a factitious address to René, at the end of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, by Waldseemüller on the 25th April, 1507. Numerous reprints followed, and thus Vespucci's narrative was made known to the world through a second-hand Latin translation disfigured with several blunders and omissions, and beginning with an initial falsification; while the original passed completely into oblivion. The rarity of the latter may have arisen from an early attempt by Vespucci's friends to suppress any token of what might seem a deviation from loyalty to his patrons the Medici. The copy which had reached Lorraine in a French guise served to arouse the admiration of Waldseemüller so strongly that, in the text of the *Cosmographia*, he declared that the New World (instead of being called simply *Mundus Novus* as Vespucci had proposed) ought to bear the name of America, and his words have prevailed for all time. Yet Vespucci's own text was unknown, even at Vicenza and Milan within a couple of years after it was printed. The famous *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati* (a compendious collection of voyagers' narratives) printed in 1507, 1508, 1512, 1517, 1519, and 1521, comprises the matter of the *Epistola* and the *Lettera*, not in their original form, but in retranslations from the Latin.

It is well therefore that the *New World* for which Vespucci proposed this name, and to which others gave his own, should receive a true reproduction of his text, so that he may no longer be held responsible for the errors of the Lorrainers. The present publication is intended to supply that want. The text is given in facsimile by a process which ensures its correctness, and the translation is made with literal exactness. The work has not been done before so completely: there are errors even in Varnhagen's edition of the text, and his translation, while not sufficiently literal, is also marked by several faults.

**Lettera di Amerigo vespucci
delle isole nuouamente
rouate in quattro
suoi viaggi.**





MAGNIFICe do
mine. Dipoi del
la humile reue/
renza & debite recômen
dationi &c. Potrà essere che
uostza Magnificenzia sùmar
uigliera della mia remerita/
et usada uostza laudoria / ch
tato absurdamēte lo mimmuo
ua a scriuere a uostza Mag.
la p'sente lettera tato plissat
sappiendo che di cōtinuo uo
stza Mag. sta occupata nell
altri consigli & negotii sopra
el buon reggimēto di coteſta

excellsa Repub. Et mi terra nō solo presumptiuoso / sed etiam
perotioso / In pormi a scriuere cose nō conuenienti a uostzo
stato / ne dilectiuoli / & cō barbaro stilo scripte / & fuora do/
gni ordine di humanita: ma la cōfidenzia mia che tengho nel
le uostre uirtu & nella uerita del mio scriuere / che son cose nō
struouano scripte ne p li antichi ne p moderni scriptori / co
me nel pœſso conoſcete V.M. mifa essere usato. La causa prin
cipale ch mōsse a scriuerui / fu p ruogho del p'sente apor
tatore / che si dice Benuenuto Benuenuti nostro fiorētino / molto
seruitore ſecōdo che si dmoſtra / di uostza Mag. & molto ami
co mio: el quale trouandosi qui in questa citta di Liſbona / mi
prego che lo facessi parte a uostza Mag. delle cose per me uiste
in diuerſe plaghe del mondo / per uirtu di quattro niaggi che
ho fatti in diſcoprire nuoue terre: edua per mando del Re di
Caſtiglia don Ferrādo Re. vi. per el gran golfo del mare ocea
no uerſo loccidente: et laltre due p mandato del poderoso Re
don Manouello Re di Portogallo / uerſo lauſtro: Dicndomi
che uostza Mag. nepiglierebbe piacere / & che in qſto ſperaua
ſeruiui: Il perche mi diſpoſi a farlo: pche miredo certo ch uo
stza Mag. mittene nel numero de ſuoi ſeruidori / ricordādomi
come nel tempo della noſtra giouentu ui ero amico / & hora
ſeruidore: & andando a udiſe e principi di grāmatica ſotto
la buona uita & doctrina del uenerabile religioſo frate di. S.
Marco fra Giorgio Antonio Veſpucci: e conſigli & doctrina
del quale piaceſſe a Dio che lo haueſſi ſeguitato: che come dicit

el petrarcha / lo facei altro huomo da quel chio sono. Quo-
modocunq; sir / non midolgho: perche sempre mi sono dile-
ctato in cose uirtuose: et anchora che queste mia patragne nõ
fiano conuenienti alle uirtu uostre / uiddiro come dire Plinio
a Mecenate / Voi solauate in alcun tẽpo pigliare piacere del-
le male clancie: anchora che uostra Mag. stia del continuo occu-
pata ne publici negoti / alchuna hora piglierete di scampo di
consumare un poco di tempo nelle cose ridicule / o dilectuo-
li: et come il finocchio si consuma dare in clima delle dilecte-
uoli uiuande p disporle a miglior digestione / cosi potrete p
di scampo di tante uostre occupationi mādare a leggere questa
mia lettera: perche ui appartino alcun tanto della continua cu-
ra & assiduo pensamẽto delle cose publiche: et se faro plisso /
ueniam peto Mag. signor mio . Vostra Mag. sapra / come el
motiuo della uenuta mia in questo regno di Spagna fu p tra-
ctate mercatantie: & come seguissi in q̃sto proposito circa di
quattro anni: ne quali uiddi & conobbi edisuariati mouimẽti
della fortuna: & come promutaua questi beni caduci & transi-
torii: & come un tẽpo tiene lhuomo nella sommita della ruo-
ta: & altro tẽpo lo ributta da se / & lo priua de beni che si pos-
sono dire imprestati: di modo che conosciuto el continuo tra-
uaglio che lhuomo pone in conquerirgli / con sottometerli
a tanti disagi & pericoli / deliberai lasciarmi della mercantia
& porre el mio fine in cosa piu laudabile & ferma: che fu che
mi disposi dandare a uedere parte del mondo / & le sue mara-
uiglie: & a questo mi siofferse tempo & luogo molto oportu-
no: che fu / chel Redon Ferrando di Castiglia hauẽdo a man-
dare quattro nauti a discoprire nuoue terre uerso loccidente /
fui electo per sua alteza che io fussi in essa fiocra per adiutare
a discoprire: et partimo del porto di Calis adi. 16. di maggio
1497. et pigliamo nostro cammino per el gran golfo del mare
oceano: nelqual niaggio stẽmo 18. mesi: & discoprimo molta
terra ferma & infinite isole: & gran parte di esse habitate: che
dalli arichi scriptori nõ seneparla di esse: credo pche nõ nheb-
bono notizia: che se ben mi ricordo / in alcuno ho lecto / che
teneua che q̃sto mare oceano era mare senza gente: et di que-
sta opinione fu Dante nostro poeta nel. xxvi. capitolo dello
inferno / done finge la morte di Vlyx: nelqual uiggio uidi
cose di molta marauiglia / come in tẽdera uostra Mag. Come
diso pra dixi / partimo del porto di Calis quattro nauti di con-
a. ii.

ferma: & cominciāmo nostra nauigatione diritti alle isole fortunate / che oggi' fidicono la gran Canaria / che sono situate nel mare oceano nel fine dello occidente habitato / poste nel terzo clyma: sopra le quali alza el polo del Septentrione fuora delloro orizonte, 27. gradi & mezo: & distāno da questa citra di Lisbona 280. leghe / per el uento infra mezo di / & libeccio: doue citenēmo octo di / prouedendoci daqua & legne & di altre cose necessarie: et di qui / facite nostre orationi / cileuāmo & dēmo le uele aluēto / cominciādo nostre nauigationi pel ponente / pigliando una quarta di libeccio: & tātō nauicāmo / ch' al capo di 37. giorni fumo a tenere una terra / ch' la giudicāmo essere terra ferma: la quale dista dalle isole di Canaria piu alio occidente a circha di mille leghe fuora dello habitato dentro della torrida zona: perche trouāmo el polo del septentrione alzare fuora del suo orizonte 16. gradi / & piu occidētale che le isole di Canaria / scōdo che mostrauano enostri instrumenti 74. gradi: nel quale anchorāmo con nostre nauti ad una legha & mezo di terra: & buttāmo fuora nostri battelli / & stipati di gente & darne: fumo alla uolta della terra / & prima che giugnessimo ad ep̄sa / hauēmo uista di molte gēte che andauano alungho della spiaggia: di che ci rallegramo molto: & la trouāmo essere gente di nuda: mostrorono hauer paura di noi: credo pche ci uiddono uestiti / & d'altra statura: tueri si ritraffeno ad un monte / & cō quāti segnali facēmo loro di pace & di amicitia / nō uollon uenire a ragionamēto con esso noi: di modo che gl'a uenēdo la nocte & pche le naue stauano surte ī luogo pericoloso / per stare in costa braua & senza abrigo / accordāmo laltro giorno leuarci di quī / & andare a cercare dalcun porto / o insenata / doue assicurassimo nostre nauti: & nauigāmo per el maestreale / che così sicorreua la costa sempre a uista di terra / di continuo uiaggio ueggēdo gente per la spiaggia: tanto ch' di poi nauigati dua giorni / trouāmo assai sicuro luogo ple nauti / & surgēmo a meza legha di terra / doue uedēmo moltissima gentes & questo giorno medesimo fumo a terra co battelli / & saltāmo ī terra ben 40. huomini bene a ordine: & le genti di terra tutta uia si mostrauano schisi di nostra conuersatione: et nō potauamo tanto assicurarli che uenissino a parlare cō noi: et questo giorno tanto trauiagliāmo con dar loro delle cose nostre / come furono sonagli & specchi / cente / spalline & altre fralche / che alcuni di loro si assicurorono & uen-

nōno a tractare con noi: et facto cō loro buona amista / uenen-
do la nocte / ci dispedimo di loro / & tornāmo alle nauī: et l'ai-
tro giorno come salī l'alba / uedēmo che alla spiaggia stauano
l'infinitē genti / & haueuano con loro le loro donne & figliuoli:
fumo a terra / & trouāmo che tutte ueniuano caricate di loro
mantenimenti / che son rasi / quali in suo luogo s'adira: et pri-
ma che giugnessimo in terra / molti di loro s'igittono a nuo-
to / & diuencono a riceuere un tiro di balestro nel mare / che so-
no grandissimi notatori / con tanta sicurtà / come se hauessimo
con esso noi tractato lungo tempo: et di questa loro sicurtà pi-
gliamo piacere. Quanto di lor uita & costumi conoscēmo / fu
che del tutto uanno di snudi / si li huomini come le dōne / sen-
za coprire uergogna nessuna / nō altrimenti che come saliron
del uentre di lor madri. Sono di mediana statura / molto ben
proportionati: le lor carni sono di colore che pende in rosso co-
me pelo di lionē: et credo ch' se gliandassino uelliti / farebbon
bianchi come noi: nō tenghono pel corpo pelo alcuno / saluo
che sono di lunghi capelli & neri / & maxime le dōne / che le
rendon formose: nō sono di uolto molto belli / pche tengono
el uiso largo / che uogliono parere altattaro: nō si lasciano cresce-
re pelo nessuno nelle ciglia / ne necoperchi delli occhi / ne in
altra parte / saluo che quelli del capo: che tengono capelli p brus-
ta cosa: sono molto leggiere delle loro persone nello andare &
nel correre / si li huomini come le dōne: che nō tiene in conto
na donna correre una legua / ò due / che molte uolte le uede /
mo: et in q̃sto le uon uantaggio grandissimo da noi christiani:
nuotano fuora dogni credere / & miglior le dōne che gli hu-
omini: pche li habbiamo trouati & uisti molte uolte due leghe
drento in mare senza appoggio alcuno andare notando. Le lo-
ro armi sono archi & saette molto ben fabricati / saluo ch' non
tengon ferro / ne altro genere di metallo forte: et in luogo del
ferro pongono denti di animali / ò di pesci / ò un fuscello di le-
gno forte arsicciato nella punta: sono tiratori certi / che dōne
uogliono / danno: et in alcuna parte usano questi archi le dō-
ne: altre arme tenghono / come lance tostate / & altri bastoni
con capocchie benissimo lauorati. V sono di guerra infra loro
con gente che non sono di lor lingua molto crudelmente / sen-
za perdonare la uita a nessuno / se non per maggior pena .
a.iii.

Quando uanno alla guerra / leuon con loro le donne loro: nō
perche guerreggino / ma perche leuon lor drieto el mantent/
mento: che lleua una donna addosso una caricha / che non la
leuera uno huomo / trenta / o quaranta leghe: che molte uolte
le uedēmo. Nō costumano Capitano alchuno / ne uanno con
ordine / che ognuno e/ signore di se: et la causa delle lor guer/
re nō e/ per cupidita di regnare / ne di allarghare et ermint lo
ro / ne pēr coditia disordinata / saluo che per una anticha ini/
mista / che per tempi passati e/ suta infra loro: et domandarli
perche guerreggiuano / non disapeuono dare altra ragione /
se nō che lo faccūon p uendicare la morte deloro antepassati /
o de loro padri: questi non tenghono ne Re / ne Signore / ne
ubidiscono ad alcuno / che uiuono in lor propria liberta: & co
me simuouino per ire alla guerra e/ che quando enimici hāno
metto loro / o preso alchuni di loro / si leua el suo parente piu
uecchio / & ua predicando per le strade che uadin con lui a uen/
dicare la morte di quel tal parente suo: et così simuouono per
compassione: nō usono iustitia / ne castigano el mal factore: ne
el padre ne la madre nō castigano e/ figliuoli / & p marauiglia
o nō mai uedēmo far questione infra loro: mostronsi semplici
nel parlare / & sono molto malitiosi & acuti in quello che loro
cupie: parlano poco / & cō bassa uoce: usono e/ medesimi accenti
come noi / pche formano le parole o nel palato / o ne denti / o
nelle labbra: saluo che usano altri nomi alle cose. Molte sono le
diuersita delle lingue / che di 100. in 100. leghe trouāmo muta/
mento di lingua / che nō sintendano l'una con l'altra. El modo
del lor uiuere e/ molto barbaro / perche nō mangiano a hore
certe / & tante uolte quante uogliono / et non si da loro molto
che la uoglia uengha loro piu a meza nocte ch di giorno / che
a tucte hore mangiano: ellor mangiare e/ nel suolo senza tona/
gla / o alero panno alcuno / perche tengono le lor uiuande o
in bacini di terra che lor fanno / o in meze zucche: dormono in
certe rete fatte di bambaccia molto grande sospese nell'aria: et
ancora che qsto lor dormire para male / dico ch e/ dolce dormi
re in epse: & migl'ior dormuamo in epse che ne coltroni. Son
gente pulita & netta de lor corpi / per tātō continouar lauari
come fanno: quando uaziano con riuercetia el uentre / fanno
ogni cosa per non essere ueduti: & tanto quanto in questo sono

netti & schifi / nel fare acqua sono altrettanto sporci & sèza uer
gogna: perché stando / parlando con noi senza uolgerli / o uer
gognarsi lasciano ire tal brutteza / che in questo non tengho /
no uergogna alchuna: non usano infra loro matrimoni: cia
schuno piglia quante donne uole: et quando le uole repu
diare / le repudia / senza che gli sia tenuto ad ingiuria / o alla
donna uergogna / che in questo tanta libertà tiene la donna
quanto l'huomo: non sono molto gelosi / & fuora di misura lu
xuriosi / & molto piu le donne che gli huomini / che si lascia per
honestà dirui l'artificio che le fanno per contar lor disordina
ta luxuria: sono dōne molto generatue / & nelle loro pregneze
non scusano trauaglio alchuno: eloro parti son tanto leggeri
che parturito dun di / uanno fuora per tutto / & maxime a la
uarsi a fiumi / & stanno sane come pesci: sono tanto disamora
te & crude / che se si adirano con lor mariti / subito fanno uno
artificio con che samazzano la creatura nel uentre / & si scon
ciano / & a questa cagione amazzano infinite creature: son don
ne di gentil corpo molto ben proportionate / che non si uede
neloro corpi cosa / o membro mal facto: et anchora che del tut
to uadino di sonde / sono donne in carne / & della uergogna lo
ro non si uede quella parte che puo imaginare chi non l'ha ue
dute / che tutto incuoprono cō le coscie / salvo quella parte / ad
che natura non prouidde / che e / honestamente parlando / el
pectignone. In cōclusionē nō tenghon uergona delle loro uer
gogne / non altrimenti che noi teghiamo mostrare el naso &
la bocca: p marauiglia uedrete le poppe cadute ad una don
na / o p molto parrorire el uentre caduto / o altre grinze / che
tutte paion ch' mai parturissino: mostrauansi molto desidero
se di congiugnersi con noi christiani. In queste gente nō cono
scēmo che tenessino legge alchuna / ne si posson dire Mori / ne
Giudei / & piggior ch' Gentili: perche nō uedēmo ch' facessino
sacrificio alchuno: nec etiam non teneuono casa di oratione:
la loro uita giudico essere Epicurea: le loro habitationi sono in
comunita: & le loro case fatte ad uso di capāne / ma fortemen
te fatte / & fabricate con grandissimi arbori / & coperte di fo
glie di palme / sicure delle tempeste & de uenti: & in alcuni luo
ghi di rāta largheza & lungheza / che in una sola casa trouāmo
che stauano 600. anime: & populatione uedēmo solo di tredici

case / doue stauano quattro mila anime: di octo in dieci anni
mutano le populationi: & domadato perche lo faceuano: per
causa del suolo che di gia per sudicizia staua infecto & corrotto
& che causaua dolentia ne corpi loro / che di parue buona ragio
ne: le loro riccheze sono penne di ucelli di piu colori / o pa
ternostini che fanno dossi di pesci / o in pietre biache / o uerdi
le quali simettono ple gore & ple labbra & orecchi: & daltre mol
te cose ch noi i cosa alcuna no le stimiamo: non usano comer
cio / ne comperano / ne uendono. In conclusion e uiuono / &
sicontentano con quello che da loro natura. Le riccheze che in
questa nostra Europa & in altre parti usiamo / come oro / gioie
perle & altre diuitie / non le tenghono in cosa nessuna: et an
chora che nelle loro terre lhabbino / non trauagliano per ha
uerle / ne le stimano. Sono liberali nel dare / che per marauil
gia ui nieghano chosa alcuna: et per contrario liberali nel
domandare / quando si mostrano uostri amici: per el mag
giore segno di amista / che ui dimonstrano / e / che ui danno
le donne loro / & le loro figliuole / & si tiene per grandemen
te honorato / quando un padre o una madre traendoui una
sua figliuola / anchora che sia moza uergine / dormiate con
lei: et in questo usono ogni termine di amista. Quando muo
lono / usono uarli modi di exequie / & alcuni gli interrano
con acqua & lor uiuande alchapo / pensando che habbino a
mangiar: non tenghono / ne usono cerimonie di lumi / ne di
piangere. In alcuni altri luoghi usono el piu barbaro & inhu
mano interramento: che e / che quando uno dolente / o in
fermo sta quasi che nello ultimo passo della morte / el ui pa
renti lo leuano in uno grande boscho / & corichano una di
quelle loro reti / doue dormono / ad dua arbori / & di poi lo
mettono in epa / & li danzano intorno tucto un giorno: et
uenendo la nocte / gli ponghono al capezzale acqua con altre
uiuande / che si possa mantenere quattro / o sei giorni: & di poi
lo lasciano solo / & tornonli alla populatione: et se lo infer
mo si adiuta per se medesimo / & mangia / & bee / & uiua / si
torna alla populatione / & lo riceuono el ui con cerimonias
ma pochi sono quelli che schampano: senza che piu sieno uisi
tati / simulono / & quello e / la loro sepultura: et altri molti co
stumi tenghono / che per proximita non si dicono. Vsono nel
le loro infermitadi uarli modi di medicine / tanto differenti

dalle nostre / che ci marauigliauamo come nessuno scampaua
che molte uolte uiddi / ch' ad uno infermo di febre quãdo la te-
neua in augumẽto / lo bagnauano cõ molta acqua fredda dal
capo al pie: dipoi gli faceuano un gran fuoco attorno / faccen-
do: uolgere & riuolgere altre due hore tãto che lo cauauano
& lo lasciavano dormire / & molti sanauano: con questo usano
molto la dieta / che stino tre di senza m`giare / & cos` elcauarsi
sangue / ma nõ del braccio / saluo delle coscie & de lombi & del-
le polpe delle gambe: alsi prouocano el uomito con loro herbe
che simettono nella bocca: & altri molti rimedii usano / che fa-
rebbe lungho a contargli: peccano molto nella flegma & nel
sangue a causa delle loro uiuande / che el forte sono radici di
herbe & fructe & pesci: nõ tengono semente di grano / ne daltre
biade: & alloro comune uso & m`giare usano una radice duno
arbore / dellaquale fanno farina & assai buona / & la chiamano
luca / & altre che la chiamano Cazabi / & altre ignami: man-
gion poca carne / saluo che carne di huomo: che sapra uostra
Magnificẽtia / che in questo sono tanto inhumani / che tra-
passano ogni bestial costume: perche simangiono tutti eloro ni-
mici che amazzano / o pigliano / si femine come maschi / con
tanta effertita / che a dirlo pare cosa brutta: quãto piu a uederlo
come mi accade infinitissime uolte / & i molte parti uerderlo
& simarauigliorono udendo dire a noi che nõ ci mangiamo
nostri nimici: et questo credalo per certo uostra Mag. son tãto
gli altri loro barbari costumi / che el facto al dire uien meno: et
pche in questi quattro uisaggi ho uiste tante cose uarie a nostri
costumi / mi disposi a scriuere un zibaldone / che lo chiamo le
quattro giornate: nelquale ho relato la maggior parte delle co-
se che to uiddi / assai distinctamẽte / secondo che mi ha porto el
mio debile ingegno: elquale anchora nõ ho publicato / perche
sono di tanto mal ghusto delle mie cose medesime / che non ren-
gho sapore in epse che ho scripto / ancora che molti mi confor-
tino al publicarlo: in epso siuedra ogni cosa p minuto: alsi che
non mi allarghero piu in questo capitolo: perche nel processo
della lettera uerremo ad molte altre cose che sono particulari:
questo basti quanto allo uniuersale. In questo principio non
uedẽmo cosa di molto proficito nella terra / saluo alchuna di-
mostra doro: credo che lo causaua / perche nõ sapauamo la lin-
gua: che inquanto al sito & dispositione della terra / non si puo
migliorare: acchordãmo di partirci / & andare piu inanzi co-

Seggiando di continuo la terra: nella quale facemo molte i-
le / & hauemo ragionamenti con molta gente: & al fine di certi
giorni fummo a uenire uno porto / doue leuamo grandissimo
pericolo. ¹ piacque allo Spirito. s. a. a. uari: & fu in questo mo-
do. Fumo a terra in un porto / doue trouamo una popolazione
fondata sopra lacqua come Venetia: erano circa 44. case gran-
de ad uso di capane fondate sopra pali grossissimi / & teneuano
le loro porte / o entrate di case ad uso di ponti leuati: & duna
casa si poteua correre p tutte / a causa de ponti leuati: che gitta-
uano di casa in casa: & come le gente di esse ci uedessino / mostra-
rono hauere paura di noi / & di subito alzarono tutti e ponti: &
stando a uedere questa marauiglia / uedemo uenire per el mare
circa di 22. Canoe / che sono maniera di loro nauilli / fabricati
dun solo arbore: equali uenono alla uolta de nostri battelli / co-
me si marauigliati di nostre effigie & habiti / & si tennon
larghi da noi: & stando cosi / facemo loro segnali ch' uenissino
a noi / assicurandoli con ogni segno di amista: & uisto che non
ueniuano / fumo a loro / & non ci aspettarono: ma si furono a
terra / & con cenni ci dixerono che aspettassimo / & che subito tor-
neremmo: & furono drieto a un monte / & non tardaron mol-
to: quando tornarono / menauan seco 16. fanciulle delle loro / &
intraron con esse nelle loro Canoe / & si uenono a battelli: & f-
clachedun battello nemisson 4. che tanto ci marauigliamo di
questo atto / quanto puo pensare V. M. & loro simissono co le
loro Canoe infra nostri battelli / uenendo co noi parlando: di
modo che lo giudicamo segno di amista: & andando in questo
uedemo uenire molta gente p el mare notando / che ueniuano
dalle case: & come si uenissino appressando a noi senza sospe-
cto alcuno / in qsto simostrarono alle porte delle case certe don-
ne vecchie / dando grandissimi gridi & tirandosi ecapelli / mo-
strando tristitia: p ilche efeciono sospettare / & ricorremo cla-
scheduno alle arme: & in un subito le fanciulle ch' tenauamo ne
battelli / fignitorono al mare / & quelli delle Canoe fallargoron
da noi / & cominciaron co loro archi a faettarci: & quelli ch' ue-
niano a nuoto / ciascuno trauea una lancia di basso nellacqua
piu coperta che poteuano: di modo che conosciuto el tradimento
cominciammo non solo co loro a difenderci / ma aspramente a of-
fendergli / & sozobramo co li battelli molte delle loro Almadie
o Canoe / che cosi le chiamano / facemo stragho / & tutti fign-
torono a nuoto / lassando di si manparate le loro canoe / co assai

lor danno si furono notando a terra: moriron di loro circa 14.
o 20. & molti restoron feriti: & de nostri furon feriti 4. & tutti
scamporono gratia di Dio: pigliamo due delle fanciulle & dua
huomini: & fumo alle lor case / & entrāmo in eple / & in tut-
te non trouāmo altro ch̄ due uecchie & uno infirmo: togliēmo
loro molte cose / ma di poca ualuta: & non uolēmo ardere lo-
ro le case / perche ci pareua caricho di conscientia: & tornāmo
alli nostri battelli con cinque prigioni: & fumoci alle nauti / &
mettēmo a ciaschuno de presi un paio di ferri in ple / saluo che
alle moze: & la nocte uegnente si fuggirono le due fanciulle &
uno delli huomini piu sottilmēte del mōdo: & l'altro giorno ac-
cordāmo di salire di q̄sto porto & andare piu inanzi: andāmo
di cōtinuo allungho della costa / hauēmo uista dun'altra gente
che poteua star discosto da questa. 80. leghe: & la trouāmo mol-
to differēte di lingua & di costumi: accordāmo di surgere / & an-
dāmo cō li battelli a terra / & uedēmo stare alla spiaggia gran-
dissima gente / che poteuano essere al ple di 4000. anime: & co-
me fumo giunti cō terra / nō ci aspettorono / & simissono a fug-
gire pe boschi / di smamparando lor cose: saltāmo i terra / & fu-
mo per un cāmīno che andaua al boscho: & i spatio dun tiro di
baletro trouāmo le lor trabacche / doue haueuon facto gran-
dissimi fuochi / & due stauano cocendo lor uiuāde: & arrosten-
do di molti animali & pesci di molte sorte: doue uedēmo che ac-
rostiti uano un cerro animale ch̄ pareua un serpēte / saluo ch̄ nō
teneua alia / & nella apparenza rāto brutto / che molto ci mara-
uigliāmo della sua fiera: Andāmo cō li ple lor case / o uero tra-
bacche / & trouāmo molti di questi serpēti uiui / & eron legati
pe piedi / & teneuano una corda allo intorno del muso / ch̄ nō
poteuono aprire la bocca / come sifa a cani alanti / pche nō mor-
dino: eron di tanto fiero aspecto / che nessuno di noi nō ardiua
di torne uno / pensando ch̄ eron uenenosi: scno di grandezza di
uno cauretro & di lūghezza braccio uno & mezo: tēgono epiedi
lungi & grossi & armati cō grosse unghie: tengono la pelle du-
ra & / & sono di uari colori: el muso & faccia tengon di serpēte:
& dal naso simouue loro una cresta come una sega / che passa
loro pel mezzo delle schiene infino alla sommita della coda: in
cōclusionē gli giudicāmo serpi & uenenosi / & se gli māgiauano:
trouāmo che faccuono pane di pesci piccholi che pigliauon del
mare / con dar loro prima un bollore / amassarli & farne pasta
di essi / o pane / & li arrostiti uano insulla brace: cō li mangia-

no: prouamolo / & trouamo che era buono: teneuono tante
altre sorte di mangiari / & maxime di fructe & radice / che fareb
be cosa largha raccontarle p minuto: & nisto che la gente non
riuentua / accordamo nō tocchare ne torre loro cosa alcuna per
miglior assicurarli: & lassamo loro nelle trabacche molte delle
cose nostre in luogo che le potessino uedere / & tornamoci p la
nocte alle nauti: & laltro giorno come uenisse el di / uedemo al
la spiaggia infinita gente: & fumo a terra: & anchora che di noi
simostrassino paurosi / tutta uolta si assicurorono a tractare cō
noi / dandoci quāto loro domāduamo: & mostrandosi molto
amici nostri / cōtixeno ch q̄lle erono le loro habitationi / & che
eron uenuti quiui p fare pescheria: & cipregorono che fussimo
alle loro habitationi & populationi / pche ci uoleuano riceuere
come amici: & simiseno a tanta amista a causa di dua huomini
che tenauamo con esso noi presi / perche erano loro nimici: di
modo che uista tanta loro importunatione / facto nostro consi
glio / accordamo 28. di noi christiani andare cō loro bene aor
dine / & cō fermo proposito / se necessario fusse / morire: et di
poi che fumo stati qui quasi tre giorni / fumo cō loro per terra
dientro: & a tre leghe della spiaggia fumo cō una populatione
dassai gente & di poche case / pche nō eron piu che noue: doue
fumo riceuuti cō tante & tante barbare cerimonie / che nō ba
sta la penna a scriuerle: che furono con li balli & canti & pianti
mescolati dallagreza / & con molte uluande: & qui stemo la no
cte: doue ci offerseuo le loro dōne / ch nō cipotauamo difende
re da loro: & dipoi deffere stati qui la nocte & mezo laltro gior
no / furon tanti epopuli che per marauiglia ci ueniua a uede
re / che erano senza conto: & li piu uecchi cipregauano ch fussi
mo con loro ad altre populationi / che stauano piu drento in
terra / mostrando di farci grādissimo honore: per onde accor
damo di ahidare: & nō ui si puo dire quanto honore cifectiono:
& fumo a molte populationi / tanto che stemo noue giorni nel
viaggio / tātō ch di gia i nostri christiani ch eron restati alle nauti
stauano cō sospetto di noi: & stando circa 18. leghe drēto infra
terra / deliberāmo tornarcene alle nauti: & al ritorno era tātā la
gente si huomini come dōne che uennon cō noi infino al ma
re / che fu cosa mirabile: & se alcuno de nostri sicansaua del ca
mino / ci uenauano in loro reti molto discansatamēte: & al pas
sare delli fiumi / che sono molti & molto grandi / con loro ar
tificii cipaissauano tanto sicuri / che nō leuauamo pericolo alcu

no / & molti di loro uenivano carichi delle cose che ci haue-
non date / che eron nelle loro reti per dormire / & plumaggi
molto ricchi / molti archi & frecce / infiniti pappagalli di va-
rii colori: & altri traueano con loro carichi di loro manteni-
menti / & di animali: che maggior marauiglia uidiro / che per
bene auenturato fireneua quello / che haueuuo a passare una
acqua / di poeua portare adosso: et giuncrì che fumo a ma-
re / uenuto nostri battelli / entrāmo i epi: et era rāsa la calcha
de loro faccuano pentrare nelli battelli / & uentre a uedere
le nostre nauti / ch'amarauigliauamo: & con li battelli leuāmo
di epi quanti potēmo / & fumo alle nauti / & tanti uenono a
nuoto / che ctenēmo per impacciati per uederli tanta gente
nelle nauti / che erano plu di mille anime tutti nudi & senza
arme: marauigliauonli delli nostri apparecchi & artifici / &
grandēza delle nauti: et con costoro ciaccadde cosa ben da ri-
dere / che fu / che accordāmo di sparare alcune delle nostre ar-
tiglierie / & quando salt el tuono / la maggior parte di loro p
paura sigittorono a nuoto nō altrimenti che si fanno li tanoc
chi ch' stanno alle prode / che uedendo cosa paurosa / sigittan-
nel pantano / tal fece quella gente: & quelli che restoron nelle
nauti / stauano tanto tremoroli / che cenepentimo di tal facto:
pure li assicurāmo con dire loro che cō quelle armi amaza-
mo enostri nimici: et haueūo folgato tutto el giorno nelle na-
ui / dicēmo loro che sene andassino / perche uolauam- par-
re la nocte / & così si partiron da noi cō molta amista / & a mo-
te sene furono a terra. In questa gente / & in loro terra conob-
bi & uiddi tanti de loro costumi & lor modi di uiuere / che nō
curo di allargiarli in epi: perche sapra V.M. come in clas-
suno delli miei uaggi ho notate le cose plu marauigliose: &
tutto ho ridotto in un uolume in stilo di geografia: & le finit-
tulo le quattro giornate: nella quale opera si contiene le cose p
minuto / & per anchora nō sene data fuora copia / perche me
necessario conferirla. Questa terra e populatissima / & di gea-
te piena / & di infiniti fiumi / animali pochi: sono simili a no-
stri / saluo Lioni / Lonze: cerui / Porci / capriuoli & danti: &
questi ancora tenghono alcuna difformita: nō tēghono caual-
li ne muli / ne cō reuerentia uini: ne cani / ne di sorte alcuna
bestiame peculioso / ne uacinos: ma sono rari li altri animali
che tēghono: & tutti sono saluarichi / & di nessuno si serpono
per loro seruitto / che nō si possion contare. Che diremo d'altri
b.l.

uccelli / che son tanti & di tante sorte & colori di penne / che e/
marauiglia uederli. La terra e molto amena & fruttuosa / pie
na di grandissime selue & boschi; & sempre sta uerde / che mai
non perde foglia. Le fructe son tante / che sono fuora di nume
ro / & difforme al tutto dalle nostre. Questa terra sta dentro del
la torrida zona giuntamente / o di basso del paralello / che de
scriue el tropico di Cancer: doue alza el polo dello orizzonte 23
gradi nel fine del secondo clyma. Vennonci a uedere molti
popoli / & si marauigliauano delle nostre effigie & di nostra
bianchezza: & ci domandaron donde uenauamo: & dauamo
loro ad intrèdere / che uenauamo dal cielo / & che andauamo a
uedere el mōdo / & lo credeuano. In questa terra ponēmo fon
te di baptesimo: & infinita gente si baptizo / & ci chiamauano
in lor lingua Carabi / che uol dire huomini di gran sauidor
ria. Partimmo di questo porto: & la prouincia si dice Lariab; &
nauigāmo allungo della costa sempre a uista della terra / tan
to che corrēmo deſſa 8 70. leghe tutta uia uerso el maestreale /
faccendo per eſſa molte scale / & tractando con molta gente;
& in molti luoghi rischattāmo oro / ma non molta quant
ta / che assai facēmo in discoprire la terra / & di sapere che te
neuano oro. Brauamo gia ſtati 13. mesi nel uilaggio: & di gla
enauili & li apparecchi erano molto cōsumati / & li huomini
cansati: & chordāmo di comune cōfiglia porre le nostre na
ui amonte; & ricorrerle per ſtancharle / che facuano molta
acqua / & calefatle & brearle di nouo / & tornarcene per la
uolta di Spagna: et quādo questo deliberāmo / ſtauamo giun
ti con un porto el miglior del mondo: nel quale entrāmo con
le nostre nauti: doue trouāmo infinita gente: la quale con mol
ta amista ci riceue; & in terra facēmo un baſtione con li nostri
battelli & con tonelli & botte & nostre artiglierie / che gioca
uano per tutto: et diſcaricate & alloggiare nostre nauti / le tir
amo in terra / & le correggēmo di tutto quello che era ne
cessario: & la gente di terra ci dette grādissimo aiuto: & di con
tinuo ci prouedeuono delle loro uſuande: che in qſto porto po
che ghustāmo delle nostre / che ci feciono buon giuoco: perche
tenauamo el mantimento per la uolta pocho & tristo: doue
ſtēmo 37. giorni: et andāmo molte uolte alle loro populatio
ni: doue ci faceuono grandissimo honore: et uolendoci parti
re per nostro uilaggio / ci feciono richiamo di come certi tem
pi dell'anno ueniuano per la uia di mare in questa lor terra una
gente molto crudele / & loro nimici: & con tradimenti / o con

forza amazzano molti di loro / & selimanglanano: & alcuni capriuauano / & gli leuauan presi alle lor case / o terra: & cō
apena si poteuono uelendere da loro / faccendoci segnali che
erano gente di isole / & poteuono stare dentro in mare 100. le
ghe: et con tanta affectione ci diceuano questo / che lo credē-
mo loro: & promettēmo loro di uendicarli di tanta ingiuria:
& loro restoron molto allegri di q̃to: et molti di loro li offer-
sono di uenire con esso noi / ma nō gli uolēmo leuare per mol-
te cagioni / saluo che ne leuāmo septe / cō conditione che li ue-
nissino poi in Canoe: perche nō ci uolēuamo obligare a tor-
narli a loro terra: & furon contenti: et così ci partimo da que-
ste genti / lassandoli molti amici nostri: et rimediate nostre
nau: / & nauigando septe giorni alla uolta del mare p̃ el uenir-
to infra greco: & leuante: et aleapo delli septe giorni: rikon-
trāmo nelle isole / che eron molte / & alcune populate / & al-
tre deserte: & surgēmo con una di eple: doue uedēmo molta
gente che la chiamauano Iri: et stipati enostri battelli di buoy-
na gente: & in ciaschano tre tiri di bombarde / fumo alla uol-
ta di terra: doue trouāmo stare alpe di 400. huomini: & mol-
te dōne / & tutti di nudt come epassati. Eron di buon corpo:
& ben pareuano huomini bellicos: perche eron armati di lo-
ro armi / che sono archi / saette & lance: et la maggior parte
di loro teneuano tauolacche quadrate: & di modo se le pone-
uano / che non gli impediuono el trarre dello archio: et come
fumo a circha di terra con li battelli ad un tiro d'arco / tutti
salirono nell'acqua a tirar saette / & difenderci che non sal-
tassimo i terra: & tutti eron dipincti e corpi loro di diuersi colo-
ri / & implumati cō penne: & ci diceuano le lingue ch̃ con noi
erano / che quādo così si mostrauano dipincti & ipiumati / che
da non segnale di uoler cōbattere: & rāto persequeroron i defen-
derci la terra / che fumo sforzati a giocare cō nostre artiglie:
rie: et come sentirono el tuono / & uideron de loro cader morti
alchuni / tutti si trasseno alla terra: p̃er onde facto nostro cōsi-
glio / accordāmo saltare i terra 42. di noi: & se ci aspectassino /
combarter con loro: così saltati i terra cō nostre armi / loro si
uennono a noi / & combattermo a circha duna hora / ch̃ poco
uantaggio leuāmo loro / saluo ch̃ enostri balestrieri & spingar-
di eri ne amazzauano alcuni: & loro feriron certi nostri: & que-
sto era / p̃che nō ci aspectauano nō al tiro di lancia ne di spa-
da: et tanta forza ponēmo al fine / che uenimo al tiro delle

spade / & come ghustassino le nostre armi / similssono in fuga per emonti & boschi / & ci lascioron uincitori del campo con molti di loro morti & assai feriti: & per questo giorno non tagliamo altrimenti di dare loro dietro / perche stauamo molto affaricati / & cene tornamo alle navi con tanta allegrezza de sette huomini che con noi eron uentui / che nõ capriano in loro: & uenendo laltro giorno / uedemo uentire per la terra gran numero di gente / tutta uia con segnali di battaglia suonando corni / & altri uarii strumenti che loro usan nelle guerre: & tutti dipinti & impiumati / che era cosa bene strana a uederli: ilperche tutte le navi fecion consiglio / & fu deliberato poi che questa gente uoleua con noi nimicitia / che fuissimo a uederli con loro / & di fare ogni cosa per farceli amici: in caso che nõ uolessino nostra amista / che li tractassimo come nimici / & che quasi nepotissimo pigliare di loro / tutti fuissino nostri schiaui: et armarci come miglior potuamo / fumo alla uolta di terra / & non ci difesono el saltare in terra / credo per paura delle bombarde: & saltamo i terra 47. huomini in quattro squadre / ciaschun Capitano con la sua gente: & fumo alle mani con loro: & di poi duna lunga battaglia morti molti di loro / gli mettemo i fuga / & seguimo lor dietro fino a una populatione / hauendo preso circa di 240. di loro / & ardemo la populatione / & cene tornamo con uictoria & con 240. prigioni alle navi / lasciando di loro molti morti & feriti / & de nostri nõ mori piu che uno / & 22. feriti / ch tutti scamporono / dio sia ringratato. Ordinamo nostra partita / & li sette huomini che cinque ne eron feriti / presono una Canoe della isola / & cõ sette prigioni che dẽmo loro / quattro dõne & tre huomini / senetornorono allor terra molto allegri / marta uigliadosi delle nostre forze: & noi alsi facemo uela p Spagna con 22. prigioni schiaui: & giugnemo nel portõ di Calis adì 14. doctobre 1498. doue fumo ben riceuuti / & uendemo nostri schiaui. Questo e quello che mi aohadde in questo mio primo uiaaggio di piu notabile.

¶ Finisce el primo Viaggio.

¶ Comincia el secondo.



Q Vanto al secondo Viaggio / & quello che in esso uiddi
 piu degno di memoria / e / quello che qui segue. Partimo
 del porto di Calis tre navi di cōserua adì 16. di Maggio 1499
 & cominciāmo nostro cāmīno adiriti alle isole del cano uer-
 de / passando a uista della isola di gran Canaria: et tanto na-
 uigāmo / che fumo a tenere ad una isola / che si dice l'isola del
 fuoco: et qui facta nostra prouisione d'acqua & di legne / pi-
 gliāmo nostra nauigatione per l'libeccio: & in 44. giorni fu-
 mo a tenere ad una nuoua terra: & la giudicāmo essere terra
 ferma / & continua con la disopra si fa mentione: laquale e / si-
 tuata drento della torrida zona / & fuora della linea equino-
 ctiale alla parte dello austro: sopra laquale alza el polo del me-
 ridione 4. gradi fuora dogni clima: & dista dalle dette isole
 per el uero libeccio 400. leghe: & trouāmo essere equali egior-
 ni con le noctes: pche fumo ad ep̃sa adì 27. di Giugno / quan-
 do el sole sta circa del tropico di Cancer: laqual terra trouāmo
 essere tutta annegata & piena di grandissimi fiumi. In questo
 principio nō uedēmo gente alcuna: surgēmo con nostre navi
 & buttāmo fuora enostri battelli: fumo con ep̃si a terra / & co-
 me dico / la trouāmo piena di grandissimi fiumi / & annegata
 b.iii.

per grandissimi fiumi che trouamo: & la cōmettēmo in molte parti / per uedere se potessimo entrare p ep̃sa: & per le grandi acque ch̃ trauono efiumi / con quāto trauaglio potēmo / nō trouamo luogo che non fussi annegato: uedēmo per efiumi molti segnali di come la terra era popolata: & uisto ch̃ p que sta parte non la potauamo entrare / accordāmo tornarcene al le nauti. / & di cōmetterla p altra parte: & leuatāmo nostre an chore / & nauticāmo infra leuante & sciloccho / costeggiando di continuo la terra / che così sicorreua: & in molte parti la cōmettēmo in spatio di 40. leghe: & tutto era tempo perduto: trouamo in questa costa che le corrente del mare erano di tanta forza / che non c̃lasclauano nauigare / & tucre correuano dallo sciloccho almaestrale: di modo che uisto tanti inconuenienti per nostra nauticatione / facto nostro cōfiglio / accordamo tornare la nauticatione alla parte del maestrale: & tanto nauticāmo allungho della terra / che fumo a tenere un bellissimo porto: elquale era causato da una grande isola / che stava allentrata / & drento si faceua una grandissima insenata: & nauticando p entrare in ep̃so / prolungando la isola / hauēmo uista di molta gente: et allegratici / uidirizzāmo nostre nauti per surgere douē uedauamo la gente / ch̃ potauamo stare piu almare circa di quattro leghe: et nauticando in questo modo / hauēmo uista duna Canoe / che uentua cō altro mare: nellaquale uentua molta gente: & accordāmo di hauerla alla mano: & facēmo la uolta con nostre nauti sopra ep̃sa con ordinē ch̃ nōi non la perdessimo: & nauticando alla uolta sua con fresco tempo / uedēmo che stanano fermi co remi alzati / credo per marauiglia delle nostre nauti: & come uidono che nōi ci andauamo apressando loro / messono eremi nellacqua / & cominciarono a nauticare alla uolta di terra: & come i nostra cōpagnia uenisse una carouella di 44. tonelli molto buona della uela / si puose a barlouento della Canoe: & quando le parue tempo darriuare sopra ep̃sa / allargo li apparecchi / & uenne alla uolta sua / & nōi alizet come la carouelletta pareggiasse con lei / & nō la uoleffi inuestire / la passo / & poi rimale sotto uento: & come si uedeffino a uantaggio / cominciarono a far forza co remi p fuggire: & nōi che trouamo ebattelli per poppa gia stipati di buona gente / pensando ch̃ la piglierebbono: & trauagliorono piu di due chore / & infine se la carouelletta in al

tra uolta non tornaua sopra epſa / la perdauamo: & come ſi
uiddeno ſtrecti dalla carouella & da battelli / tucti ſigittarono
al mare / che poteuono eſſere. 70. huomini: & diſtauaſe da ter
ra circa di due leghe: & ſeguedoli co battelli / in tutto el giorno
nō nepotēmo pigliare più ch̄ dua / che fu p acerto: gli altri tut
ti ſi furono a terra a ſaluamēto: & nella canoe reſtarono 4.
ſanciulli: equali non eron di lor generatione / che li traevano
preſi dall'altra terra: & li haueuano caſtrati / che tucti eron ſen
za membro uſtile / & con la piaga freſcha: di che molto ci ma
rauiagliāmo: & meſſi nelle nauiv cidixeno per ſegnali / che li
haueuon caſtrati p mangiarſeli: & ſapēmo coſtoro erano una
gente / che ſi dicono Camballi / molto efferati / ch̄ mangiono
carne humana. Fumo con lenaui / leuando con noi la Canoe
per poppa alla uolta di terra / & ſurgēmo a meza leghe: & co
me a terra uedeſſimo molta gente alla ſpiaggia / fumo co bat
telli a terra / & leuāmo con epſo noi edua huominini che pi
gliāmo: & giuncti in terra / tucta la gēte ſi fuggi / & ſimilſeno
pe boſchi: & allarghāmo uno delli huomini / dandogli molti
ſonagli / & che uolauamo eſſere loro amici: el quale fece molto
bene quello li mandamo / & traſſe ſeco tucta la gente / che po
teuono eſſere 400. huomini / et molte dōne: equali uennono
ſenza arme alcuna: adonde ſtauaſe con li battelli: et facto
con loro buona amiſta / rendēmo loro l'altro preſo / et man
damo alle nauv per la loro Canoe: et la rendēmo loro. Queſta
Canoe era lungha 26. paſſi / et largha due braccia / et tucta
dun ſolo arbore cauato / molto bene lauorata: et quando la
hebbono uarata in un rio / et meſſala in luogo ſicuro / tucti
ſi fuggirono / et nō uollon più praticare con noi / che ci parue
tucto barbaro atto / che gli giudicāmo gente di pocha fede &
di mala conditione. A coſtoro uedēmo alcun pocho doro che
teneuano nelli orecchi. Partimo di qui / & entrāmo drento nel
la inſenata: doue trouāmo rāta gente / che fu marauiglia: con
li quali facēmo in terra amiſta: & fumo molti di noi con loro
alle loro populationi molto ſicuramente / & ben riceuuti. In
queſto luogo riſchattāmo 140. perle / che cele detton p un ſo
naglio / & alcun poco doro / che celodauano di gratia: et i que
ſta terra trouāmo che becuano uino facto di lor fructe & le
mente ad uſo di ceruogia / & bianchio & uermiglio: & el mi
gliore era facto di mirabolani / & era molto buono: et man

gl'amo infiniti di epi / che era el tempo loro. E / molto buona fructa / saporosa al gusto / & salutifera al corpo. La terra e / molto abondosa de loro mantenimenti / et la gente di buona conuersatione / et la piu pacifica che habbiamo trouata in fino aqui. Stemo in questo porto 17. giorni con molto piacere: et ogni giorno ci uenivano a uedere nuou populi della terra dentro / marauigliandosi di nostre effigie & bianchezza / & de nostri uestiti & atme / & della forma & grandezza delle nauí. Da questa gente hauemo nuoue di come staua una gente piu alponente ch' loro / che erano loro nimici / che teneuano infinita copia di perleset che quelle che loro teneuano / erano che le haueuan lor tolte nelle lor guerre: et ci dixeno come le pescano / & in che modo nasceuano / et li trouamo essere con uerita / come uoltra uostra Magnificentia. Partimo di questo porto / et nauicamo per la costa per la quale di continuo uedauamo fumate con gente alla spiaggia: et al capo di molti giorni fumo a tenere in un porto / ad causa di rimediare ad una delle nostre nauí / che faceua molta acqua: doue trouamo essere molta gente con liquali non potemo ne per forza ne per amore hauer conuersatione alcuna: et quando andauamo a terra / ci difendeano aspramente la terra: et quando piu non poteuano / si fuggiuano per li boschi / & non ci aspettauano. Conoscitoli tato barbari / ci partimo di qui: et andando nauicando / hauemo uista duna isola / che distaua nel mare a quleghe da terra: & accordamo di andare a uedere se era popolata. Trouamo in essa la piu bestial gente & la piu brutta che mai si uedeuole / & era di questa sorte. Erano di gesto & uiso molto brutti: & tutti teneuano le ghote piene di dreno di una herba uerde / che di continuo la rugumauano come bestie / che appena poteuon parlare / & ciaschuno teneua al collo due zucche secche / che l'una era piena di quella herba che teneuano in bocca / & l'altra duna farina biacha / che pareua gesso in poluere / & di quando in quando con un fuso ch' teneuano in mollandolo co' la bocca / lo metteuano nella farina: di poi se lo metteuano in bocca da tutta dua le bande delle ghote / infarinandosi l'herba che teneuano in bocca: & questo faceuano molto aminuto: et marauigliati di tal cosa / non potuamo intendere questo secreto / ne ad ch' fine cosi faceuano. Questa gente come ci uidono / uenono a noi tanto familiarmente / come

Se haueſſimo tenuto con loro amiſta: andando con loro per la ſpiaggia parlando / & deſideroſi di bere acqua freſcha / di ſe-
ciono ſegnali che nō la teneuano / & confeceuon di quella lo-
ro herba & farina / di modo che ſtimāmo per diſcretion che
q̃ſta iſola era pouera dacqua / & ch̃ per diſendersi dalla ſete / re-
neuan quella herba in bocca / & la farina per queſto medeſi-
mo. Andāmo per la iſola un di & mezo ſenza ch̃ mai trouaſſi-
mo acqua uiua: & uedēmo che lacqua che ebeuauo / era di ru-
giada ch̃ cadeua di nocte ſopra certe foglie / ch̃ pareuano orce-
chi di aſino / & empicuonſi dacqua / & di queſta becuano tera
acqua optima: & di queſte foglie nō ne haueuono in molti luo-
ghi. Nō reneuan alcuna maniera di uiuande / ne radice / co-
me nella terra ferma: & la lor uita era con peſci che pigliauon
nel mare / & di queſti reneuan grandiffima abundancia / &
erano grādiffimi peſcatori: & ci preſentorono molte tor-ughe
& molti gran peſci molto buoni: le lor donne nō uſauon tene-
re herba in bocca come gli huomini / ma tutte traeuono una
zuccha con acqua / & di quella becuano. Nō teneuano popula-
tione ne di caſe ne di capāne / ſa'uo che habitauano di baſſo
in fraſchiai / che li defendeuan dal Sole / & nō da lacqua: che
credo poche uolte uſpioueua in quella iſola: quando ſtauano
al mare peſchando / tutti teneuano una foglia molto grande
& di tal largheza / che uſtauon di baſſo drēro alk mbra / & la
ſiochauano in terra: & come el ſole ſiuolgeua / coſi uolgeuano
la foglia: & i queſto modo ſi diſfendeuano dal Sole. Liſola con-
tiene molti animali di uarie ſorte: & beano acqu. di pantani:
& uſto che nō teneuano proficuo alcuno / ci partimo / & fumo
ad una ltra iſola: & trouāmo che in eſſa habitaua gente molto
grande: fumo indi in terra / per uedete ſe trouaemo acqua
freſca: & nō penſando che liſola fuſſi populata per non ueder
gente / andando alungho della ſpiaggia / uedēmo pedate di
gente nella rena molto grādi: & giudicāmo ſe l'alre membra
riſpondeſſino alla miſura / che ſarebbono huomini grandiffi-
mi: & andando in queſto riſcontrāmo in un camino che an-
daua per la terra drento: & acchordāmo noue di noi: & giu-
dicāmo che liſola per eſſer plochola / nō poteua hauere in ſe
molta gente: pero andāmo per eſſa / per uedere che gente
era queſta: & di poi che fumo tri circa di una legua / uedēmo
in una ualle cinque delle lor capāne / che ci pareuon diſpopo-
late: & fumo ad eſſe / & trouāmo ſolo cinque donne / & due

uecchie & tre fanciulle di tanto alra statura / che per marauiglià le guardauamo: & come ciuiddono / entro lor tãta paura / che non hebbono animo a fuggire: & le due uecchie ci comincioròno con parole a conutare / traendoci molte cose da mangiare / & messonci in una capãna: & eron di statura maggiori che uno grande huomo / che ben sarebbon grãde di corpo/come fu Francesco deglialbizi / ma di miglior proportion: di modo che stauamo tutti di proposito di torne lettere fanciulle per forza / & per coia marauigliosa trarle a Castiglia: et stando i questi ragionamenti / cominciorno a entrare per la porta della capãna ben 36.huomini molto maggiori che le donne:huomini tanto ben fatti / che era cosa famosa a uedergli: equali ci missero in tanta turbatione, / che piu tosto faremo uoluti essere alle nauti / ch' trouarci cõ tal gente. Trauano archi grandissimi / & frecce con gran bastoni con capocchie: & parlauano infra loro dun suono / come uolessino mandare: ci uisiti in tal pericolo / facemo uarii cõligli infra noi: alchuni diceuano che i casa sicominciasse a dare in loro: & altri che alcampo era migliore: & altri che diceuano che nõ cominciasse la quistione infino a tanto che uedessimo quello che uolessin fare: et accordãmo del salir della capanna / & andarcene dissimulatamente al camìno delle nauti: & cõsi lo facemo: et p̃reso nostro camìno / cenerornãmo alle nauti: loro ci uenon drieto tuttauia a un tiro di pietra / parlando infra loro: credo ch' non men paura haueuon di noi / che noi di loro: perche alcuna uolta ci ripolauamo / & loro alsi senza appressarsi a noi / tanto che giugnemo alla spiaggia doue stauano ebattelli aspectandoci: & entrãmo i epli: & come fumo larghi loro saltorono / & citirorono molte saetre: ma poca paura reuauamo già di loro: sparãmo loro dua tiri di bombardi piu pspauetati che per far loro male: & tutti aluono fuggirono al monte: & cõsi ci partimo da loro / ch' ci parue scampare duna pericolosa giornata. An lauano del tutto di snudi come li altri. Chiamo questa isola / li isola de giganti a causa di lor grandezza: & andãmo piu inanzi prolungando la terra: nellaquale ci accadde molte uolte combattere con loro per non ci uolere lasciare pigliare cosa alcuna di terra: & già che stauamo di lontano di tornarcene a Castiglia: perche erauamo stati nel mare circha di uno anno / & tenauamo poco n antrimento / & el poco damnato a causa delli gran caldi che passamo: perche

da che partimo per l'isole del cauo verde Infino a qui / di conti-
 nuo hauuamo nauicato p la torrida zona / & due volte attra-
 uersato per la linea equinoctiale: che come di sopra dixi / fumo
 fuora di ep̄sa 4. gradi alla parte dello austro: & qui stauamo in
 14. gradi uerli el septentrione. Stando in q̄sto cōsiglio / piacque
 allo Spirito sancto dare alchuno discanfo a tanti nostri tra-
 uagli: che fu / che andando cerchando un porto per racchon-
 ciare nostri nauilli / fumo a dare con una gente: laquale ci ri-
 couette con molta amista: & trouamo che teneuano grandissi-
 ma quantità di perle orientali & assai buone: co quali citrenē-
 mo 47. giorni: & riscatamo da loro 119. marchi di perle con
 molta poca mercantia: che credo nō dicostorono el ualere di
 quaranta ducati: pche quello che dēmo loro / nō furono se nō
 sonagli & specchi / & conte / dieci palle & foglie di ostrone: che
 p uno sonaglio daua uno quāte perle teneua. Da loro sapēmo
 come le pescuano / & donde: & cideuano molte ostriche / nel
 lequali n̄ scueuono: riscatamo ostrica / nellaquale stapa di na-
 scimento 130. perle / & altre di meno: questa delle 130. mitol
 se la Regina: & altre miguarda: nō le uedeffe. Et ha da sapere
 V.M. che se le perle non sono mature / & da se non si spicchia-
 no / nō persanno: perche si dannano presto: & di questo ne ho
 uisto experientia: quando sono mature / stanno drento nella
 ostrica spicchate & messe nella carne: et q̄ste son buone: quan-
 to male teneuano / che la maggior parte erano roche & mal
 forate: tutta uia ualeuano buon danari: pche si uendeano el mar-
 cho. et al capo di 47. giorni lasciāmo la gente molto
 amica nostra. Partimoci / & per la necessita del mantenimento
 fumo a tenere all'isola dantiglia / che e/ questa che discoperse
 Christophal Colombo piu anni fa: doue facēmo molto mau-
 tenimēto: & stēmo duo mesi & 17. giorni: doue passamo mol-
 ti pericoli & traugli con li medesimi christiani che in questa
 isola stauano col Colombo: credo per inuidia: che per nō esse-
 re prolixo / li lascio di racchontare. Partimo della detta isola
 adi 22. di Luglio: & nauicāmo i un mese & mezo: & entrāmo
 nel porto di Calis / che fu adi 3. di Septembre di di / el mio se-
 condo viaggio: Dio laudato.

¶ Finito el secondo Viaggio

¶ Comincia el terzo.



ST Andomi dipoi in Sibylla / riposandomi di tanti mia
 trauagli / che i questi duo ulaggi haueuo passari / & con
 uolonta di tornare alla terra delle perle: quando la fortuna nō
 contenta de miei trauagli / che nō lo come uenissi in pensa-
 meuro a questo serenissimo Re don manouello di portogallo
 eluolerū seruire di me: et stando in Sibylla fuori dogni pen-
 samento di uenire a Portogallo / miuēne un messaggiero cō
 lettera di sua real corona / che mirogaua ch io uenissi a Lisbo-
 na a parlare cō sua alteza / promettēdo farmi merzede. Nō
 fui aconsigliato che uenissi: expediti el messaggiero / dicendo
 che stauo male / & che quando stessi buono / & che sua alteza
 siuolessse pure seruire di me / che farei quanto mi mandasse. be-
 uistio che non mi poteua hauere / acchordo mandare per me
 Giuliano di Bartholomeo del Giocondo stante qui in Lisbo-
 na / con commissione che in ogni modo mi traesse. Venne el
 detto Giuliano a Sibylla: per la uenuta & ruogho delquale
 fui forzato a uenire / che fu tenuta a male la mia uenuta da
 quanti miconoscuano: perche mi parti di Castiglia / doue mi
 era facto honore / & il Re mi teneua i buona possessione: peg-
 gior fu / che mi parti iulalutaro hospiteret appresentaromi
 inanzi a questo Re / mostro hauer piacere di mia uenuta: &
 mi priego di fuisi la compagnia di tre sue naue / che stanno

preste p andare a discoprire nuoue terre: & come un rogo d'...
Re e/mando /hebbi aconsentire a quãto mĩrogaua: et pardinẽ
di qũto porto di Lisbona tre nauti di conserua adi. 10. di Maggio
1491. & pigliãmo nostra dertora diritti alla isola di gran Cana-
ria: & passiamo senza posare a uista di ep̃sa: & di qui fumo costeg-
giando la costa dafrica p la parte occidẽtale: uella quale costa fa-
cẽmo nostra pẽscheria a una forte pẽsci / che si chiamano Parchi:
doue ci ditenẽmo tre giorni: & di qui fumo nella costa dethuopia
ad un porto che si dice Besehtice / che sta dentro dalla torrida zo-
na: sopra la quale alza el polo del septentrione 14. gradi & mezo
situato nel primo cyma: doue stẽmo. 11. giorni / piguaao acqua
& legne: pche mia Inierione era di marinare uerlẽ laustro p el
golfo atlantico. Partimo di qũto porto di ethiopia / & nauicãmo
p el libeccio / pigliando una quarta del mezo di / tanto che in 67.
giorni fumo a tenere a una terra che staua nel detto porto 700.
leghe uerso libeccio: & i quelli 67. giorni leuãmo el peggior tẽ-
po / che mai leuasse huomo che nauicasse nel mare / per molti
aguazeri & turbonate & tormẽte che ci detteno: pche fumo i tẽ-
po molto cõtrario / a causa che el forte di nostra nauicacione fu di
cõtinuo giunta con la linea equinoctiale / che nel mese di Gio-
gno e/ in uerno: & trouãmo el di con la nocte essere eguale: & tro-
uãmo ombra uerso mezo di di cõtinuo: placq adlo mostrarel
terra nuoua / & fu adi 17. dagosto: doue surgẽmo a meza legha:
& buttãmo fuora nostri battelli: et fumo a uedere la terra / se era
habitata da gente / & che tale era: & trouãmo essere habitata da
gete / ch erano peggiori ch animali: pero V.M. intendera i qũto
principio nõ uedẽmo gente / ma ben conoscẽmo ch era popula-
ra p molti segnali che i ep̃sa uedẽmo: pigliãmo la possessione di
ep̃sa p questo serenissimo Re: la quale trouãmo essere terra molto
amena & uerde / & di buona apparentia: staua fuora della linea
equinoctiale uerso laustro 4. gradi: et per questo ci ditornãmo
alle nauti: et pche renauamo gran necessita daqua & di legne /
accordãmo laltro giorno di tornare a terra per prouedere del ne-
cessario: et stando i terra / uedẽmo uua gẽte nella sommita dun-
monte / che stauano mirando / & nõ uia uono descẽdere abasso:
erano disnudi / & del medesimo colore & factione che erano li
altri passati: et stando cõ loro traagliando / perche uenissino a
parlare con ep̃so noi / mai nõ li potẽmo assicurare / che nõ si fi-
carono di noi: et uisto la loro obstinatione / & di gĩa era tardi /
ci ditornãmo alle nauti / lasciando loro in terra molti sonagli
c. i.

& specchi / & altre cose a uista loro: et come fumo larghi al ma-
re / disceseno del mōte / & uennon p le cose lassamo loro / faccē
do di epse grā marauiglia: & p ōsto giorno nō ci puedēmo se nō
dacqua: l'altra macchina uedemo delle naue ch la gēte di terra face
uon molte fumate: & noi pensando che ci chiamassino / fumo a
terra / doue trouāmo ch erano uenuti molti populi / & tutta uia
stauano larghi di noi: & ci accēnauano ch fuissmo cō loro p la ter-
ra drento: p onde simoffeno dua delli nostri xpiani a domādare
el capitano ch desse loro licentia / che si uoleuano metter a picolo
di uolere andare cō loro ī terra / p uedere ch gente erano / & se
tenuano alcuna riccheza / o spetieria / o drugheria: & tanto pre-
gorono / ch el capitano fu cōtento: & messonli a ordine cō molte
cose di riscatto / si partiron da noi cō ordine / ch nō stessino piu
di 4. giōni a tornare: pche tāto gli aspecteremo: & pson lor cami-
no p la terra / & noi p le naui aspectādoli: & quasi ogni giōno ue-
niua gēte alla spiaggia / & mai nō ci uollon parlare: et il septimo
giorno andamo ī terra / & trouamo che haueuō tracto cō loro le
lor dōne: et come saltassmo ī terra / gli huomini della terra man-
dorono molte delle lor dōne a parlar cō noi: & uisto nō si assicu-
rauauno / accordāmo di mādare a loro uno huomo de nostri / ch
fu un glouane ch molto faceua lo sforzo: & noi passicuarlo / en-
trāmo nelli battelli: & lui si fu p le dōne: & come giūse a loro / gli
feciono un grā cerchio ī torno / toccandolo / & mirandolo si ma-
rauigliauano: et stando ī qsto / uedēmo uenire una dōna del mō-
te / & traua un grā palo nella mano: & come giūse dōde staua
el nostro xpiano / li uenne p adietro: & alzato el bastone / gli dette
tam grāde el colpo / ch lo distese morto ī terra / ī un subito le al-
tre dōne lo psono pe piedi / & lo strascinarono pe piedi uerso el
mōte: & li huomini saltarono uerso la spiaggia / & cō loro archi
& fette a sactrarci: et poson la nostra gente ī tanta paura surti
cō li battelli sopra le fatecche / che stauano ī terra / che p le molte
freccie ch ci metteuano nelli battelli / nessuno accertaua di piglia-
re l'arme: pure disparāmo loro 4. tiri di bōbarda / & nō accerto-
rono / saluo ch uditō el tuono / tutti fuggirono uerso el mōte / &
doue stauano gla le dōne faccēdo pezi del xpiano: & ad un gran
fuoco che haueuō facto / lo stauano arrostitō a uista nostra / mo-
strāndoci molti pezi / & māgiandoseli: et li huomini faccēndoci
segnali cō loro cenni d come hauer morti li altri duo xpiani / &
manglatoseli: el che el peso molto / ueggēdo cō li nostri occhi la
crudelta che faceuan del morto / a tutti noi fu ingiuria intollerā

bile: & stando di proposito piu di 40. di noi di saltare in terra & uendicare tãta cruda morte & atto bestiale & inhumano / el Capitano maggiore nõ uolle acõsentire / & si restaron satil di tãta ingiuria: & noi ci partimo da loro cõ mala uolõta & cõ molta uergogna nostra a causa del nostro Capitano. Partimo di q̃sto luogo / & cominciamo nostra nauicarlione ifra leuante & sciloccho / & così si correua la terra: et facemo molte schale / & mai trouamo gente ch̃ cõ ep̃so noi uolestin cõuerfiare: et così nauicamo rãto / che trouamo che la terra faceua la uolta p̃ libeccio: come doblissimo un cauo / al quale ponemo nome el cauo di scõ Augustino / cominciamo a nauicare p̃ libeccio / & dista q̃sto cauo dalla p̃dicta terra / che uedemo doue amazorono echristiani. 140. leghe uerso leuante: et sta q̃sto cauo 3. gradi fuori della linea equinoctiale uerso laustro: et nauicando / hauemo un giorno uista di molta gente / ch̃ stauano alla spiaggia p̃ uedere la marauiglia delle nostre naut: et di che come nauicamo / fumo alla uolta loro / & surge / mo i buon luogo / & fumo cõ li battelli a terra / & trouamo la gente essere di migllor cõditione ch̃ la passata: et ancor ch̃ ci fusse tra maglio di metticarli / tuttauia celifacemo amici / & tractamo cõ loro. In q̃sto luogo stemo 4. giorni: & qui trouamo canna fistola molto grossa & uerde & secca i cima dell̃i arbori. Accordamo i questo luogo leuare un palo di huomini / per h̃. dimostrassino la lingua: et uennono tre di loro uolunta per uenire a Portogallo: & per questo digia cansato di tanto scriuere / sopra uostra Magnificẽtia / che partimo di questo porto / sempre nauicando per libeccio a uista di terra / di continuo faccndo di molte scale / & parlando con infinita gente: et tanto fumo uerso laustro / che già stauamo fuora del tropico di Capricorno: a donde el polo del Meridione salzaua sopra lo Orizzonte 32. gradi: et di già hauamo perduto del ructo l'orsa minore / & la maggiore ci staua molto bassa / & quasi ci simonstraua al fine dello Orizzonte / & ci regglauamo per le Srelle dell'altro polo del Meridione: ne le quali sono molte / & molto maggiori / & piu lucenti che le di q̃sto nostro polo: et della maggior parte di ep̃se trassi le lor figure / & maxime di q̃lle della prima: & maggior magnitudi / ne / con la dichiarazione de lor circuli / che faccuano storno al polo del austro / cõ la dichiarazione de lor diametri & semidiametri / come si porra uedere nelle mie 4. giornate: correremo di q̃sta costa a pie di 740. leghe: le 140. dal cauo dicto di scõ Augustino c. ii.

uerso elponete / & le 600. uerso el libeccio: et uolendo raccontare
le cose che i q̃lla costa uidi: & q̃llo che passamo / non mi habereb
be altri tanti fogli: & in q̃sta costa nõ uedemo cosa di p̃fetto / sal
uo. lo finiti arbori di uerzino & di cassia / & di quelli ch̃ generano
la myrra / & altre marauiglie della natura / che nõ si possono rac
contare: et di gla essendo stati nel uisaggio ben 10. mesi / & uislo
che in q̃lla terra nõ trouanamo cosa di minero alcuno / accorda
mo di dispedirci di ep̃sa / & andarci a cõmettere al mare p̃ altra
partire: et facto nostro cõsiglio / fu deliberato ch̃ li seguisse q̃lla na
uigatione che mi parebbe bene: & tutto fu rimesso i me elquando
della fiotta: et allhora mandai che tutta la gente & fiotta si pro
uedessi d'acqua & di legne p̃ sei mesi / che tãto giudicorono li uis
tali delle naut ch̃ poteuamo nauicare cõ ep̃se. Facto nostro pue
dimento di q̃lla terra / cominciamo nostra nauigatione p̃ el uen
to sciloccho: & fu adi 14. di Febrato / quando gia el sole sandaua
cercando allo equinoctio / & tornaua uerso q̃sto nostro emispe
rio del septentrione: & tanto nauicamo p̃ q̃sto uento / che ci tro
uamo tanto alti / ch̃ el polo del meridione ci staua altro fuora del
nostro orizzonte ben 42. gradi / & plu nõ uedadamo le stelle ne
dell'orsa minore / ne della maggore orsa: & di gla stauamo di
scosto del porto di doue partimo ben 400. leghe p̃ sciloccho: &
questo fu adi 3. d'aprile: & i q̃sto giorno comincio una tormenta
in mare tãto forzola / che ci fece amalinare del tutto nostre ueles
& corrauamo all'arbero seco con molto uento / che era libeccio
cõ grandissimi mari / & larla molto tormentosa: et tanta era la
tormeta / che tutta la fiotta staua con gran rimore: e nocte eton
molto grandi: che nocte renemo adi septe d'aprile / che fu di 16.
hore: p̃che el sole staua uel fine di Arles: et in q̃sta regione era lo
inuernò / come ben puo cõsiderare V.M. et andando i q̃sta tor
menta adi septe d'aprile / hauemo uista di nuoua terra: dellaquale
corrimo circha di 20. leghe / & la trouamo tutta colta brava: et
nõ uedemo i ep̃sa porto alcuno / ne gente: credo p̃che era tãto el
freddo / che neisuno della fiotta si poteua rimediare / ne soppor
tarlo: di modo ch̃ uistoci in tanto pericolo & i tanta tormeta / che
apena potaurmo hauere uista luna naue dell'altra / p̃ gran mari
ch̃ faceuano / & p̃ la gran serrazon del tẽpo / che accordamo con
el capitano maggiore fare segnale alla fiotta che arriuassi / & la
scizissimo la terra: et cene tornassimo al cammino di Portogallo: et
fu molto buon cõiglio: che certo e che se tardauamo quella no
te / tutti ci peridauamo: p̃che come arriuamo a poppa / & la noe

ete & l'altro giorno si direbbe tanta tormenta / che dubitamo
perderci: et hauemo di fare peregrini & altre cerimonie / come
e' usanza de marinai p tali tēpi: corremo 4. giorni / & tutta uia
ci uenauamo apressando alla linea equociale / & in aria & i mari
piu tēperati: et piacq a Dio scamparci di tãto pericolo: & nostra
nauicacione era pel uento intra el tramōtano & greco: pche no
stra itentione era andare a riconoscere la costa di ethiopia / che
stauamo discosto da ep̃sa i 300. leghe pel golfo del mare atlanti
co: & cō la gratia di dio a 10. gorni di Maggio fumo i ep̃sa a una
terra uerso l'austrō / ch̃ si dice La serra liona: doue stēmo 14. giorni
pigliādo nostro rinfrescamēto: & di qui partimo pigliādo nostra
nauicacione uerso li sole dell' azori / ch̃ distāno di q̃sto luogo della
Serra circa di 740. leghe: et fumo cō li sole alfin di Luglio: doue
stēmo altri 14. giorni / pigliādo alcuna recreatione: & partimo di
ep̃se p lisbona: ch̃ stauamo piu allo occidēte 300. leghe: & entra
mo p q̃sto porto di Lisbona ad i 7. di Seprēbre del 1402. a buon
sa' uamēto / Dio ringraziato sia / cō solo due nau: pche l'altra ar
dēmo nella Serra liona: pche nō poteua piu nauicare / che stēmo
In questo viaggio circa di 14. mesi: & giorni 11. nauigāmo sen
za ueder la stella tramōtana / o l'orsa maggiore & minore / che si
dicono el como: et ci reggēmo p le stelle dello altro polo. Questo
e' quāto uidi In q̃sto uiaaggio / o giornata.

¶ Quarto Viaggio.



R Estami di dire le cose p me uiste nel quarto uaggio / o g'or
nata: & perlo essere gia cansato / & etiam pche q'sto quarto
uaggio nō sifornt / scōdo ch'io leuauo el pposito / p una disgrat
tia che ci achadde nel golfo del mare atlantico: come nel pcesso
sotto breuita intrèderà V.M. m'ingegnerò d'essere brieue. Parti
mo di q'sto porto di Lisbona 6. naut di cōserua cō pposito di an
dare a scoprire una isola uerso l'orientè / che s'iddice Melaccha: del
laquale si ha nuoue esser molto ricca / & ch'è come el magazzino
di ucte le naut che uégano del mare gangetico & del mare indi
co / come e/Calis camera di turti enautli che passano da leuante
a ponète / & da ponète a leuète p la uia di Calicut: et q'sta Me
laccha e/ piu all'occidète ch' Calicut / & molto piu alta parte del
mezo di: pche sappiamo ch' sta in paraggio di 33. gradi del polo
antarctico. Partimo adì 10. di Maggio 1403 et fumo diritti alle
isole del cauo verde / doue facemo nostro caragne / & pigliamo
sorte di rinfrescamèto / doue stemo 13. giorni: et di qui partimo
a nostro uaggio / nauicādo p el uèto sciloccho: et come el nostro
Capitano maggiore fusse huomo psumptuoso & molto cauezu
to / uolle andare a riconoscere la Serra llona / terra dethiopia au
strale / senza tenere necessita alcuna / se nō p farsi uedere / ch' era
Capitano di sei naut / cōtro alla uolūta di tutti noi altri Capita
ni: et così nauicando / quādo fumo cō la decta terra / furon tate
le turbonate che c'idetrono / & cō eple el tēpo cōtrario / che stan
do a uista di epla ben 4. giorni / mai nō c'laschio el mal tēpo pi
gliar terra: di modo ch' fumo forzati di tornare a nostra nauica
tione uera / & lassare la decta Serra: et nauicādo di qui al suduest
che e/ uèto ifra mezo di & libeccio: et quādo fumo nauicati ben
300. leghe p el mōstro del mare / stando di già fuora della linea
equotionale uerso l'austro ben 3. grad. ci s'idi scoperse una terra
ch' portauamo distare di epla 22. leghe: della q'le c' marauigliāmo:
et trouāmo ch' era una isola nel mezo del mare / & era molto al
ta cosa / ben marauigliosa della natura: pche nō era piu che due
leghe di lungo / & una di largo: nellaquale isola mai nō fu habi
tato da gente alcuna: & fu la mala isola p tutta la flocta: pche fa
pra V.M. che per el mal cōfiglio & reggimèto del nostro Capita
no maggiore / perde quì sua naue: pche dette con epla i uno sco
glio / & s'aperse la nocte di scō Lorenzo / che e/ adì 10. d'agosto / &
si fu i fondo: & nō si saluo di epla cosa alcuna / se nō la gente. Era
naue di 300. tonelli: nellaquale andaua tutta la imporrāza del
la flocta: & come la flocta tutta trauagliasse i rimediaria / el Ca

pitano mi mando che io fussi con la mia naue alla detta isola a
cerchare un buon surgidero / doue potessin surgere tutte le nauti
& come el mio battello stipato con 9. mia marinai / fussi in serui
gio & aiuto da ligare le nauti / nõ uolle ch' lo leuassir & ch' mi fussi
sine epso: dicẽdomi ch' mille uerebbono all'isola: partimi della flo
cta come mimando p' l'isola senza battello / & cõ meno la mera
de mia marinai / & fui alla detta isola / che distauo circha di 4.
leghe: nellaquale trouai un bonissimo porto / doue ben sicura /
mente poteuan surgere tutte le nauti: doue aspectai el mio Capit
tano & la flocta ben 8. giorni / & mai nõ uennono: di modo ch'
stauamo molto mal cõtenti / & le genti che meran restate nella
naue / stauano cõ rãta paura / ch' nõ li poteuo cõsolare: et stando
così / locauo gl'ono uedẽmo uenire una naue pel mare: & di pau
ra che non ci potessi uedere / ci leuãmo con nostre nauti / & fumo
ad'epsa / pensando ch' mitracua el mio battello & genteret come
pareggiamo con epso / dipoi di saluata. ci dixẽ come la capitana
sera ita i fondo / & come la gente sera saluata / & che el mio
battello & gente restaua con la flocta / laquale sera ita per quel
mare auanti / che ci fu rãta graue tormenta / qual puo pensare
V.M. p' trouarci 1000. leghe discosto da Lisbona / & i g. lfo / &
con pochi gente: tuttauia facẽmo rostro alla fortuna / & andã
mo tuttauia innanzi: tornãmo alla isola / & fornimoci d'acqua
& di legne con el battello della mia conserua: laquale isola fro
uãmo disabitata / & teneua molte acque ulue & dolci / infiniti
tissimi arbori / piena di rãti uccelli marini & terrestri / che eron
senza numero: et eron tanto semplici / che si lasciauon piglia
re con mano: et rãti ne pigliãmo / che carichãmo un battello
di epfi animali: nessuno non uedẽmo / saluo Topi molto gran
di / & Ramarri con due code / & alchuna Serpe: et facta nostra
prouisione / ci dipartimo per el uento infra mezo di & libeccio
perche tenauamo un reggimento del Re / che ci mandaua / che
qualunche delle nauti che superdesse della flocta / o del suo Capit
tano / fussi a tenere nella terra / che el viaggio passato. Discos
timo in un porto / che li ponẽmo nomẽ la badia di tutti e san
cti: et piacque a Dio di darci rãto buon tempo / che in 17. gior
ni fumo a tenere terra in epso / che distaua da l'isola ben 300.
leghe: doue non trouãmo ne il nostro Capitano / ne nessuna al
tra naue della flocta: nelqual porto aspectãmo ben dua mesi &
4. giorni: & uisto che non uentua ricapito alcuno / achordãmo

la conserua / & io correr la costa: et nauigamo piu inanzi 260. le
ghe / trāo ch' giugnemo i un porto: doue accordamo far una for
teza / & la facemo: & la sciāmo i ep̃sa 24. huomini christiani / che
ci haueua la mia cōserua / che haueua ricolti della naue capitana
che sera p̃duta: inelqual porto stēmo ben 4. mesi i fare la forteza
& caricar nōstre naui d'uerzino: pche nō potauamo andare piu
inanzi / a causa che non tenauamo genti / & mancua molti
apparecchi. Facto tutto q̃sto / accordāmo di tornarcene a Por
togallo / che ci staua p̃ l'entro infra grēco & tramōtano: & lassa
mo li 24. huōm̃ini. che restoron nella forteza cō mantenimēto p̃
sei mesi / & 12. bōbarde / & molte altre armi / & pacificāmo tur
ca la gente di terra: dellaquale nōl'e facto mentione i q̃sto uia
gio: nō pche nō uedessimo & pratificassimo cō infinita gente di
ep̃sa: pche fumo i terra dentro ben 30. huōm̃ini 40. leghe: doue
uidi t̃ate cose / ch' le lascio di dire / riserbandole alle mie 4. gior
nate. Questa terra sta fuora della linea eq̃noctiale alla parte del
lo austro 18. gradi / & fuora del mantenimento di Lisbona 37.
gradi / plu all'occidēte secōdo ch' mostrano enōstri strumenti. Et
facto tutto q̃sto / ci dispedimo de christiani & della terra: et co
minciāmo nostra nauicatione al nordeste / che e/ uenito infra
tramōtana & grēco / cō proposito dandare a dirittura cō nostra
nauicatione a questa citra di Lisbona: et in 77. giorni di poi t̃an
ti trauagli & pericoli entrāmo i questo porto adl 18. di Giugno
1404. Dio laudato: doue fumo molto ben riceuuti / & fuora do
gni credere: pche tutta la citra ci faceua perduti: pche laltre naui
della flocta tutte seron perdute p̃ la superbia & pazia del nōstro
Capitano / che cōsi pagha Dio la superbia: et al presente m̃itruo
uō qui in Lisbona / & non so quello uorra el Re fare di me / che
molto desidero riposarmi. El presente ap̃ortatore che e/ Benue
nuro di Domenico Benuenuti / dira a V.M. di mio essere / & di
alcune cose s̃sono lasciate di dire per prolixita: perche le ha ut
ste & sentire / Dio sia cō li . lo sono ito stringēdo la let
tera quāto ho potuto: & heffi lasciato a dire molte cose naturali /
a causa di scusare p̃lixit̃a. V.M. m̃iperdonti: laquale supplico ch'
m̃itenga nel numero de sua seruitori: & uiraccomando ser An
tonio Vespucci mio fratello / & tutta la casa int̃a. Resto rogando
Dio / che uel accresca edi della uita: & ch' salzi lo stato di cōtēsta ex
cella Rep. & l'hōnore di V.M. & d'. Dara in Lisbona adl 4. di
Septembre 1404.

Scrutore Amerigo Vespucci in Lisbona.

Letter of Amerigo Vespucci
upon the isles newly
found in his
four Voyages.



[Letter of Amerigo Vespucci to Pier
Soderini, Gonfalonier of the Republic
of Florence.]

Woodcut of
Vespucci at a
writing desk

MAGNIFICENT Lord. After humble reverence and due commendations, etc. It may be that your Magnificence will be surprised by my rashness and the affront to your wisdom,¹ in that I should so absurdly bestir myself to write to your Magnificence the present so-prolix letter: knowing [*as I do*] that your Magnificence is continually employed in high councils and affairs concerning the good government of this sublime Republic. And will hold me not only presumptuous, but also idly-meddlesome in setting myself to write things, neither suitable to your station, nor entertaining, and written in barbarous style, and outside of every canon of literature:² but the confidence which I have in your virtues and in the truth of my writing, which are things [*that*] are not found written neither by the ancients nor by modern writers, as your Magnificence will in the sequel perceive, makes me bold.³ The chief cause which moved [*me*] to write to you, was by the request of the present bearer, who is named Benvenuto Benvenuti our Florentine [*fellow citizen*], very much, as it is proven, your Magnificence's

¹ Literally "dared your wisdom" in a barbarous phrase which is meant for "your wisdom thus affronted."

² *Humanità*.

³ Here *usato* is certainly the Spanish *osado*, or the Portuguese *ousado*,

of 27 and a half degrees¹ beyond their horizon:² and they are 280 leagues distant from this city of Lisbon, by the wind between *mezzo di* and *libeccio*:³ where we remained eight days, taking in provision of water, and wood, and other necessary things: and from here, having said our prayers, we weighed anchor, and gave the sails to the wind, beginning our course to westward, taking one quarter by south-west:⁴ and so we sailed on till at the end of 37⁵ days we reached a land which we deemed to be a continent: which is distant westwardly from the isles of Canary about a thousand leagues beyond the inhabited region⁶ within the torrid zone: for we found the North Pole at an elevation of 16 degrees above its horizon,⁷ and [*it was*] according to the shewing of our instruments, 75 degrees to the west of the isles of Canary: whereat we anchored with our ships a league and a half from land: and we put out our boats freighted with men and arms: we made towards the land, and before we reached it, had sight of a great number of people who were going along the shore: by which we were much rejoiced: and we observed that they were a naked race: they shewed themselves to stand in fear of us: I believe [*it was*] because they saw us clothed and of other appearance [*than their own*]: they all withdrew to a hill, and for whatsoever signals we made to them of peace and of friendliness, they would not come to parley with us: so that, as the night was now coming on, and as the ships were anchored in a dangerous place, being on a rough and shelterless coast, we decided to remove from there the next day, and to go in search of some harbour or bay, where we might place our ships in safety: and we sailed with the *maestrale* wind,⁸ thus running along the coast with the

¹ The Latin has "27½."

² That is, *which are situate at 27½ degrees north latitude.*

³ South-south-west. It is to be remarked that Vespucci always uses the word *wind* to signify the course in which it blows, not the quarter from which it rises.

⁴ West and a quarter by south-west.

⁵ Latin has 27.

⁶ This phrase is merely equivalent to a repetition of *from the Canaries*, these islands having been already designated *the extreme western limit of inhabited land.*

⁷ That is, 16 degrees north latitude. If his computations be correct, we might say that the landfall was on the northern coast of Honduras.

⁸ North-west. Latin has *vento secundum collem.*

land ever in sight, continually in our course observing people along the shore: till after having navigated for two days, we found a place sufficiently secure for the ships, and anchored half a league from land, on which we saw a very great number of people: and this same day we put to land with the boats, and sprang on shore full 40 men in good trim: and still the land's people appeared shy of converse with us, and we were unable to encourage them so much as to make them come to speak with us: and this day we laboured so greatly in giving them of our wares, such as rattles and mirrors, beads,¹ balls, and other trifles, that some of them took confidence and came to discourse with us: and after having made good friends with them, the night coming on, we took our leave of them and returned to the ships: and the next day when the dawn appeared we saw that there were infinite numbers of people upon the beach, and they had their women and children with them: we went ashore, and found that they were all laden with their worldly goods² which are suchlike as, in its [*proper*] place, shall be related: and before we reached the land, many of them jumped into the sea, and came swimming to receive us at a bowshot's length [*from the shore*], for they are very great swimmers, with as much confidence as if they had for a long time been acquainted with us: and we were pleased with this their confidence. For so much as we learned of their manner of life and customs, it was that they go entirely naked, as well the men as the women, without covering any shameful part, not otherwise than as they issued from their mother's womb. They are of medium stature, very well proportioned: their flesh is of a colour that verges into red like a lion's mane: and I believe that if they went clothed, they would be as white as we: they have not any hair upon the body, except the hair of the head which is long and black, and especially in the women, whom it renders handsome:

¹ The word is *cente*, supposed to be a misprint for *conte*, an Italianised form of the Spanish *cuentas*. *Spalline* (palline, diminutive of *palle*) is a word not given in the dictionaries. The Latin translator seems to have read the original as *certe cristalline*.

² *Mantenimenti*. The word "all" (*tucte*) is feminine, and probably refers only to the women.

in aspect they are not very good-looking, because they have broad faces, so that they would seem Tartar-like : they let no hair grow on their eyebrows, nor on their eyelids nor elsewhere, except the hair of the head : for they hold hairiness to be a filthy thing : they are very light-footed in walking and in running, as well the men as the women : so that a woman reckons nothing of running a league or two, as many times we saw them do : and herein they have a very great advantage over us Christians : they swim [*with an expertness*] beyond all belief, and the women better than the men : for we have many times found and seen them swimming two leagues out at sea without any thing to rest upon. Their arms are bows and arrows very well made, save that they have no iron nor any other kind of hard metal [*wherewith to tip the arrows*] : and instead of iron they put animals' or fishes' teeth, or a spike of tough wood, with the point hardened by fire : they are sure marksmen, for they hit whatever they aim at : and in some places the women use these bows : they have other weapons, such as fire-hardened spears, and also clubs with knobs, beautifully carved. Warfare is used amongst them, [which they carry on] against people not of their own language, very cruelly, without granting life to any one, except [*to reserve him*] for greater suffering. When they go to war, they take their women with them not that these may fight, but because they carry behind them their worldly goods : for a woman carries on her back for thirty or forty leagues a load which no man could bear : as we have many times seen them do. They are not accustomed to have any Captain, nor do they go in any ordered array, for every one is lord of himself : and the cause of their wars is not for lust of dominion, nor of extending their frontiers, nor for inordinate covetousness, but for some ancient enmity which in by-gone times arose¹ amongst them : and when asked why they made war, they knew not any other reason to give us than that they did so to avenge the death of their ancestors, or of their parents : these people have neither King, nor Lord, nor do they yield obedience to any one, for they live in their own liberty : and how

¹ The expression in the original is *e suta*, an error for *è surta*.

they be stirred up to go to war is [*this*] that when the enemies have slain or captured any of them, his oldest kinsman rises up and goes about the highways haranguing them to go with him and avenge the death of such his kinsman: and so are they stirred up by fellow-feeling: they have no judicial system, nor do they punish the ill-doer: nor does the father, nor the mother chastise the children: and marvellously [*seldom*] or never did we see any dispute among them: in their conversation they appear simple, and [*yet*] are very cunning and acute in that which concerns them:¹ they speak little and in a low tone: they use the same articulations as we, since they form their utterances either with the palate, or with the teeth, or on the lips:² except that they give different names to things. Many are the varieties of tongues: for in every 100 leagues we found a change of language, so that they are not understandable each to the other. The manner of their living is very barbarous, for they eat at no certain hours, and as oftentimes as they will: and it does not matter much to them that the will may come rather at midnight than by day, for they eat at all hours:³ and their repast is [*made*] upon the ground without a table-cloth or any other cover, for they have their meats either in earthen basins which they make therefor, or in the halves of pumpkins: they sleep in certain very large nettings made of cotton,⁴ suspended in the air: and although this their [*fashion of*] sleeping may seem uncomfortable, I say that it is sweet to sleep in those [*nettings*]: and we slept better in them than in quilts. They are a people of neat exterior, and clean of body, because of so continually washing themselves as they do: when, saving your reverence, they evacuate the stomach they do their utmost not to be observed: and as much as in this they are cleanly and bashful, so much the more are

¹ *Che loro cuple.* The Spanish word *cumplir*, with the sense of being important or suitable.

² He means that they have no sounds in their language unknown to European organs of speech, all being either palatals or dentals or labials.

³ The words from "and it does not matter" down to "at all hours" omitted in the Latin.

⁴ *Bambacia.*

they filthy and shameless in making water : since, while standing speaking to us, without turning round or shewing any shame, they let go their nastiness, for in this they have no shame : there is no custom of marriages amongst them : each man takes as many women as he lists : and when he desires to repudiate them, he repudiates them without any imputation of wrong-doing to him, or of disgrace to the woman : for in this the woman has as much liberty as the man : they are not very jealous and are immoderately libidinous, and the women much more so than the men, so that for decency I omit to tell you the artifice they practice to gratify¹ their inordinate lust : they are very prolific women, and do not shirk any work during their pregnancies : and their travails in childbed are so light that, a single day after parturition, they go abroad everywhere, and especially to wash themselves in the rivers, and are [*then*] as sound as fishes : they are so void of affection and cruel, that if they be angry with their husbands they immediately adopt an artificial method by which the embryo is destroyed in the womb, and procure abortion, and they slay an infinite number of creatures by that means : they are women of elegant persons very well proportioned, so that in their bodies there appears no ill-shapen part or limb : and although they go entirely naked, they are fleshy women, and, of their sexual organ, that portion which he who has never seen it may imagine, is not visible, for they conceal with their thighs everything except that part for which nature did not provide, which is, speaking modestly, the pectignone.² In fine, they have no shame of their shameful parts, any more than we have in displaying the nose and the mouth : it is marvellously [*rare*] that you shall see a woman's paps hang low, or her belly fallen in by too much childbearing, or other wrinkles, for they all appear as though they had never brought forth children : they shewed themselves very desirous of having connexion with us Christians. Amongst those people we did not learn that they had any law, nor can they be called Moors nor Jews, and [*they are*] worse than pagans : because we never

¹ In the original, *contar* for *contentare*.

² Bigger bosom, *mons Veneris*.

saw them offer any sacrifice: nor even had they a house of prayer: their manner of living I judge to be Epicurean: their dwellings are in common: and their houses [*are*] made in the style of huts,¹ but strongly made, and constructed with very large trees, and covered over with palm-leaves, secure against storms and winds: and in some places [*they are*] of so great breadth and length, that in one single house we found there were 600 souls: and we saw a village of only thirteen² houses where there were four thousand³ souls: every eight or ten years⁴ they change their place of habitation: and when asked why they did so: [*they said it was*] because of the soil⁵ which, from its filthiness, was already unhealthy and corrupted, and that it bred aches in their bodies, which seemed to us a good reason: their riches consist of birds' plumes of many colours, or of rosaries⁶ which they make from fishbones, or of white or green stones which they put in their cheeks and in their lips and ears, and of many other things which we in no wise value: they use no trade, they neither buy nor sell. In fine, they live and are contented with that which nature gives them. The wealth that we enjoy in this our Europe and elsewhere, such as gold, jewels, pearls, and other riches, they hold as nothing: and although they have them in their own lands, they do not labour to obtain them, nor do they value them. They are liberal in giving, for it is rarely they deny you anything: and on the other hand, free in asking, when they shew themselves your friends: the greatest sign of friendship which they shew you is that they give you their wives and their daughters, and a father or a mother deems himself [*or herself*] highly honored, when they bring you a daughter, even though she be a young virgin, if you sleep with her: and hereunto they use every expression of friendship. When they die,

¹ Waldseemüller has "bell-towers," having misread *campane* for *capanne*, huts or cabins.

² Latin has *eight*.

³ Latin, *ten thousand*.

⁴ Latin has *seven* for *ten*.

⁵ *Suolo*, the ground or flooring, which Waldseemüller absurdly misread *sole*, the sun. Varnhagen, no less strangely, translates it "the atmosphere."

⁶ *Paternostri*, rosaries or chaplets of beads used by illiterate Catholics.

they use divers manners of obsequies, and some they bury with water and victuals at their heads: thinking that they shall have [*whereof*] to eat: they have not nor do they use ceremonies of torches¹ nor of lamentation. In some other places they use the most barbarous and inhuman burial,² which is that when a suffering or infirm [*person*] is as it were at the last pass of death, his kinsmen carry him into a large forest, and attach one of those nets of theirs, in which they sleep, to two trees, and then put him in it, and dance around him for a whole day: and when the night comes on they place at his bolster, water with other victuals, so that he may be able to subsist for four or six days: and then they leave him alone and return to the village: and if the sick man helps himself, and eats, and drinks, and survives, he returns to the village, and his [*friends*] receive him with ceremony: but few are they who escape: without receiving any further visit they die, and that is their sepulture: and they have many other customs which for prolixity are not related. They use in their sicknesses various forms of medicines,³ so different from ours that we marvelled how any one escaped: for many times I saw that with a man sick of fever, when it heightened upon him, they bathed him from head to foot with a large quantity of cold water: then they lit a great fire around him, making him turn and turn again every two hours, until they tired him and left him to sleep, and many were [*thus*] cured: with this they make much use of dieting, for they remain three days without eating, and also of blood-letting, but not from the arm, only from the thighs and the loins and the calf of the leg: also they provoke vomiting with their herbs which are put into the mouth: and they use many other remedies which it would be long to relate: they are much vitiated in the phlegm and in the blood because of their food which consists chiefly of roots of herbs, and fruits and fish: they have no seed of wheat nor other grain: and for their ordinary use and feeding, they have a root

¹ *Lumi*, lights, tapers, candles, as in Catholic ceremonies.

² *Interramento* is the word, but he means only "funeral rite."

³ That is, "medical treatment."

of a tree, from which they make flour, tolerably good, and they call it Iuca, and [*there are*] others who call it Cazabi, and others Ignami:¹ they eat little flesh except human flesh: for your Magnificence must know that herein they are so inhuman that they outdo every custom [*even*] of beasts: for they eat all their enemies whom they kill or capture, as well females as males, with so much savagery, that [*merely*] to relate it appears a horrible thing: how much more so to see it, as, infinite times and in many places, it was my hap to see it: and they wondered to hear us say that we did not eat our enemies: and this your Magnificence may take for certain, that their other barbarous customs are such that expression is too weak for the reality: and as in these four voyages I have seen so many things diverse from our customs, I prepared to write a common-place-book² which I name LE QUATTRO GIORNATE: in which I have set down the greater part of the things which I saw, sufficiently in detail, so far as my feeble wit has allowed me: which I have not yet published, because I have so ill a taste for my own things that I do not relish those which I have written, notwithstanding that many encourage me to publish it: therein everything will be seen in detail: so that I shall not enlarge further in this chapter: as in the course of the letter we shall come to many other things which are particular; let this suffice for the general. At this beginning, we saw nothing in the land of much profit, except some show of gold: I believe the cause of it was that we did not know the language: but in so far as concerns the situation and condition of the land, it could not be better: we decided to leave that place, and to go further on, continuously coasting the shore: upon which we made frequent descents, and held converse with a great number of people: and after some days we went into a harbour where we underwent very great danger: and it pleased the Holy Ghost to save us: and it was in this wise. We landed in a harbour, where we found a village built like Venice upon the water: there were about 44 large dwellings in the form

¹ *Ignami* is the Portuguese *inhame*, African *yam*.

² *Zibaldone*, miscellany, *omnium-gatherum*.

of huts erected upon very thick piles,¹ and they had their doors or entrances in the style of drawbridges: and from each house one could pass through all, by means of the drawbridges which stretched from house to house: and when the people thereof had seen us, they appeared to be afraid of us, and immediately drew up all the bridges: and while we were looking at this strange action, we saw coming across the sea about 22 canoes, which are a kind of boats of theirs, constructed from a single tree: which came towards our boats, as if they had been surprised by our appearance and clothes, and kept wide of us: and thus remaining, we made signals to them that they should approach us, encouraging them with every token of friendliness: and seeing that they did not come, we went to them, and they did not stay for us, but made to the land, and, by signs, told us to wait, and that they would soon return: and they went to a hill in the background,² and did not delay long: when they returned, they led with them 16 of their girls, and entered with these into their canoes, and came to the boats: and in each boat they put 4 of the girls. How greatly we marvelled at this behaviour your Magnificence can imagine, and they placed themselves with their canoes among our boats, coming to speak with us: inso-much that we deemed it a mark of friendliness: and while thus engaged, we beheld a great number of people advance swimming towards us across the sea, who came from the houses: and as if they were approaching us without any apprehension: just then there appeared at the doors of the houses certain old women, uttering very loud cries and tearing their hair to exhibit grief: whereby they made us suspicious, and we each betook ourselves to arms: and instantly the girls whom we had in the boats, threw themselves into the sea, and the men of the canoes drew away from us, and began with their bows to shoot arrows at us: and those who were swimming each carried a lance held, as covertly as they could, beneath the water: so that, recognizing

¹ Waldseemüller has 20 instead of 44, and repeats his error of "bell-towers" for "huts."

² Varnhagen says "went straight to land," evidently mistaking *dristo* (*dietro*) for *dristo*, and ignoring *monte*.

the treachery, we engaged with them, not merely to defend ourselves, but to attack them vigorously, and we overturned with our boats many of their skiffs or canoes, for so they call them, we made a slaughter [*of them*], and they all flung themselves into the water to swim, leaving their canoes abandoned, with considerable loss on their side, they went swimming away to the shore: there were killed of them about 15 or 20, and many were left wounded: of ours 5 were wounded, and all, by the grace of God, escaped [*death*]: we captured two of the girls and two men: and we proceeded to their houses, and entered therein, and in them all we found nothing but two old women and a sick man: we took away from them many things, but of small value: and we would not burn their houses, because it seemed to us [*as though that would be*] a burden upon our conscience: and we returned to our boats with five prisoners: and betook ourselves to the ships, and put a pair of irons on the feet of each of the captives, except the girls: and when the night came on, the two girls and one of the men escaped in the most subtle manner possible: and next day we decided to quit that harbour and go further onwards: we proceeded continuously skirting the coast, [*until*] we had sight of another tribe distant perhaps some 80 leagues from the former tribe: and we found them very different in speech and customs: we resolved to cast anchor, and went ashore with the boats, and we saw on the beach a great number of people amounting probably to 4000 souls: and when we had reached the shore, they did not stay for us, and betook themselves to flight through the forests, abandoning their things: we jumped on land, and took a pathway that led to the forest: and at the distance of a bow-shot we found their tents, where they had made very large fires, and two [*of them*] were cooking their victuals, and roasting several animals, and fish of many kinds: where we saw that they were roasting a certain animal which seemed to be a serpent, save that it had no wings,¹ and was in its appearance so foul

¹ *Alia*—wings or fins. Vespucci must have been thinking of the fabulous dragon.

that we marvelled much at its loathsomeness: Thus went we on through their houses, or rather tents, and found many of those serpents alive, and they were tied by the feet and had a cord around their snouts, so that they could not open their mouths, as is done [*in Europe*] with mastiff-dogs so that they may not bite: they were of such savage aspect that none of us dared to take one away, thinking that they were poisonous: they are of the bigness of a kid, and in length an ell and a half:¹ their feet are long and thick, and armed with big claws: they have a hard skin, and are of various colours: they have the muzzle and aspect of a serpent: and from their snouts there rises a crest like a saw which extends along the middle of the back as far as the tip of the tail: in fine we deemed them to be serpents and venomous, and [*yet*] they were used as food: we found that [*those people*] made bread out of little fishes which they took from the sea, first boiling them, [*then*] pounding them, and making thereof a paste, or bread, and they baked them on the glowing embers: thus did they eat them: we tried it, and found that it was good: they had so many other kinds of eatables, and especially of fruits and roots, that it would be a large matter to describe them in detail: and seeing that the people did not return, we decided not to touch nor take away anything of theirs, so as better to reassure them: and we left in the tents for them many of our things, placed where they should see them, and returned by night to our ships: and the next day, when it was light, we saw on the beach an infinite number of people: and we landed: and although they appeared timorous towards us, they took courage nevertheless to hold converse with us, giving us whatever we asked of them: and shewing themselves very friendly towards us, they told us that those were their dwellings, and that they had come hither for the purpose of fishing: and they begged that we would visit their dwellings and villages, because they desired to receive us as friends: and they engaged in such friendship because of the two captured men whom we had with us, as these were their enemies: insomuch

¹ *Braccio uno e mezzo.* This animal was the iguana.

that, in view of such importunity on their part, holding a council, we determined that 28 of us Christians in good array should go with them, and in the firm resolve to die if it should be necessary: and after we had been here some three days, we went with them inland: and at three leagues from the coast we came to a village of many people and few houses, for there were no more than nine [*of these*]: where we were received with such and so many barbarous ceremonies that the pen suffices not to write them down: for there were dances, and songs, and lamentations mingled with rejoicing, and great quantities of food: and here we remained the night: where they offered us their women, so that we were unable to withstand them: and after having been here that night and half the next day, so great was the number of people who came wondering to behold us that they were beyond counting: and the most aged begged us to go with them to other villages which were further inland, making display of doing us the greatest honour: wherefore we decided to go: and it would be impossible to tell you how much honour they did us: and we went to several villages, so that we were nine days journeying, so that our Christians¹ who had remained with the ships were already apprehensive concerning us: and when we were about 18 leagues in the interior of the land, we resolved to return to the ships: and on our way back, such was the number of people, as well men as women, that came with us as far as the sea, that it was a wondrous thing: and if any of us became weary of the march, they carried us in their nets very refreshingly: and in crossing the rivers, which are many and very large, they passed us over by skilful means so securely that we ran no danger whatever, and many of them came laden with the things which they had given us, which consisted of their sleeping-nets, and very rich feathers, many bows and arrows, innumerable popinjays² of divers colours: and others brought with them loads of their household goods, and of animals: but a greater marvel will I tell you, that, when we had to cross a river, he deemed himself lucky who was able to carry us on his back: and when we reached the

¹ *I.e.*, comrades.

² *Pappagalli*, perroquets.

sea, our boats having arrived, we entered into them : and so great was the struggle which they made to get into our boats, and to come to see our ships, that we marvelled [*thereat*] : and in our boats we took as many of them as we could, and made our way to the ships, and so many [*others*] came swimming that we found ourselves embarrassed in seeing so many people in the ships, for there were over a thousand persons all naked and unarmed : they were amazed by our [*nautical*] gear and contrivances, and the size of the ships : and with them there occurred to us a very laughable affair, which was that we decided to fire off some of our great guns,¹ and when the explosion took place, most of them through fear cast themselves [*into the sea*] to swim, not otherwise than frogs on the margins of a pond, when they see something that frightens them, will jump into the water, just so did those people : and those who remained in the ships were so terrified that we regretted our action : however we reassured them by telling them that with those arms we slew our enemies : and when they had amused themselves in the ships the whole day, we told them to go away because we desired to depart that night, and so separating from us with much friendship and love, they went away to land. Amongst that people and in their land, I knew and beheld so many of their customs and ways of living, that I do not care to enlarge upon them : for Your Magnificence must know that in each of my voyages I have noted the most wonderful things, and I have indited it all in a volume after the manner of a geography : and I intitle it *LE QUATTRO GIORNATE* : in which work the things are comprised in detail, and as yet there is no copy of it given out, as it is necessary for me to revise it.² This land is very populous, and full of inhabitants, and of numberless rivers, [*and*] animals : few [*of which*] resemble ours, excepting lions, panthers, stags, pigs, goats, and deer :³ and even these have some dissimilarities of form : they have no horses nor

¹ *Artiglierie.*

² *Conferirla.*

³ In the text the colon follows "few," which alters the sense considerably, and makes the statement run thus, "Numberless rivers and few animals : they resemble ours," &c.; but the real intention is evidently better conveyed by adding the words in brackets, and displacing the colon in question.

mules, nor, saving your reverence, asses nor dogs, nor any kind of sheep or oxen : but so numerous are the other animals which they have—and all are savage, and of none do they make use for their service—that they could not be counted. What shall we say of their different birds? which are so numerous, and of so many kinds, and of such various-coloured plumages, that it is a marvel to behold them. The land is very pleasant and fruitful, full of immense woods and forests : and it is always green, for the foliage never drops off. The fruits are so many that they are numberless and entirely different from ours. This land is within the torrid zone, close to or just under the parallel which marks the Tropic of Cancer : where the pole of the horizon has an elevation of 23 degrees, at the extremity of the second climate.¹ Many tribes came to see us, and wondered at our faces and our whiteness : and they asked us whence we came : and we gave them to understand that we had come from heaven, and that we were going to see the world, and they believed it. In this land we placed baptismal fonts, and an infinite [*number of*] people were baptized, and they called us in their language Carabi, which means men of great wisdom. We took our departure from that port : and the province is called Lariab : and we navigated along the coast, always in sight of land, until we had run 870 leagues of it, still going in the direction of the maestrale [*north-west*] making in our course many halts, and holding intercourse with many peoples : and in several places we obtained gold by barter but not much in quantity, for we had done enough in discovering the land and learning that they had gold. We had now been thirteen months on the voyage : and the vessels and the tackling were already much damaged, and the men worn out by fatigue : we decided by general council to haul our ships on land and examine them for the purpose of stanching leaks,² as they made much water, and of caulking and tarring them afresh, and [*then*] returning towards Spain : and when we came to this determination, we were close to a harbour the best in the world : into which

¹ That is, 23 degrees north latitude; possibly referring to the coast near Tampico (Mexico).

² *Stancharle* (? *stagnarle*).

we entered with our vessels: where we found an immense number of people: who received us with much friendliness: and on the shore we made a bastion¹ with our boats and with barrels and casks, and our artillery, which commanded every point:² and our ships having been unloaded and lightened,³ we drew them upon land, and repaired them in everything that was needful: and the land's people gave us very great assistance: and continually furnished us with their victuals: so that in this port we tasted little of our own, which suited our game well:⁴ for the stock of provisions which we had for our return-passage was little and of sorry kind: where [*i.e., there*] we remained 37 days: and went many times to their villages, where they paid us the greatest honour: and [*now*] desiring to depart upon our voyage, they made complaint to us how at certain times of the year there came from over the sea to this their land, a race of people very cruel, and enemies of theirs: and by means of treachery or of violence slew many of them, and ate them: and some they made captives, and carried them away to their houses, or country: and how they could scarcely contrive to defend themselves from them, making signs to us that [*those*] were an island-people and lived out in the sea about a hundred leagues away: and so piteously did they tell us this that we believed them: and we promised to avenge them of so much wrong: and they remained overjoyed herewith: and many of them offered to come along with us, but we did not wish to take them for many reasons, save that we took seven of them, on condition that they should come [*i.e., return home*] afterwards in canoes because we did not desire to be obliged to take them back to their country: and they were contented: and so we departed from those people, leaving them very friendly towards us: and having repaired our ships, and

¹ Fort or barricade. The Latin misreads it "a new boat."

² *Che giocavano per tucto.*

³ *Allogiate* is slurred over by the Latin and Varnhagen. I take it to be intended for *allegiate*, and this to be an old form, corresponding to the French *alléger*, of *alleggerite* or *alleviate*: lightened, eased.

⁴ *Che ci feciono buon giuoco.*

sailing for seven days out to sea between north-east and east: and at the end of the seven days we came upon the islands, which were many, some [*of them*] inhabited, and others deserted: and we anchored at one of them: where we saw a numerous people who called it Iti: and having manned our boats with strong crews, and [*taken*] three guns in each, we made for land: where we found [*assembled*] about 400 men, and many women, and all naked like the former [*peoples*]. They were of good bodily presence, and seemed right warlike men: for they were armed with their weapons, which are bows, arrows, and lances: and most of them had square wooden targets: and bore them in such wise that they did not impede the drawing of the bow: and when we had come with our boats to about a bowshot of the land, they all sprang into the water to shoot their arrows at us and to prevent us from leaping upon shore: and they all had their bodies painted of various colours, and [*were*] plumed with feathers: and the interpreters¹ who were with us told us that when [*those*] displayed themselves so painted and plumed, it was to betoken that they wanted to fight: and so much did they persist in preventing us from landing, that we were compelled to play with our artillery: and when they heard the explosion, and saw some of their number fall dead, they all drew back to the land: wherefore, forming our Council, we resolved that 42 of our men should spring on shore, and, if they waited for us, fight them: thus having leaped to land with our weapons, they advanced towards us, and we fought for about an hour, but we had little advantage of them, except that our arbalasters and gunners killed some of them, and they wounded certain of our men: and this was because they did not stand to receive us within reach of lance-thrust or sword-blow: and so much vigour did we put forth at last, that we came to sword-play, and when they tasted our weapons, they betook themselves to flight through the mountains and the forests, and left us conquerors of the field with many of them dead and a good number wounded: and for

¹ *Le lingue*, a Portuguese idiom.

that day we took no other pains to pursue them, because we were very weary, and we returned to our ships, with so much gladness on the part of the seven men who had come with us that they could not contain themselves [*for joy*]: and when the next day arrived, we beheld coming across the land a great number of people, with signals of battle, continually sounding horns, and various other instruments which they use in their wars: and all [*of them*] painted and feathered, so that it was a very strange sight to behold them: wherefore all the ships held council, and it was resolved that since this people desired hostility with us, we should proceed to encounter them and try by every means to make them friends: in case they would not have our friendship, that we should treat them as foes, and so many of them as we might be able to capture should all be our slaves: and having armed ourselves as best we could, we advanced towards the shore, and they sought not to hinder us from landing, I believe from fear of the cannons: and we jumped on land, 57 men in four squadrons, each one [*consisting of*] a captain and his company: and we came to blows with them: and after a long battle [*in which*] many of them [*were*] slain, we put them to flight, and pursued them to a village, having made about 250 of them captives, and we burnt the village, and returned to our ships with victory and 250 prisoners¹ leaving many of them dead and wounded, and of ours there were no more than one killed, and 22 wounded, who all escaped [*i.e., recovered*], God be thanked. We arranged our departure, and the seven men, of whom five were wounded, took an island-canoe, and, with seven prisoners that we gave them,

¹ Varnhagen thought we ought to read "25" (not 250), like the Latin version, and to correct the figures "222" lower down into "22," in both the text and the Latin. But he was in error, having omitted to observe that the figures "250" occur *twice*. He evidently looked more on the Latin than the text. Besides, a capture of only 25 savages would be very little indeed for the European force to make, whether we reckon it at 57 men or 228 men, as he and the Latinizer read it (four squadrons, each of 57 men, with its captain), especially when they had entered into hostilities with the express intention of making captives. [He afterwards corrected himself.]

First Voyage.

23

four women and three men, returned to their [*own*] country full of gladness, wondering at our strength : and we thereupon made sail for Spain with 222 captive slaves : and reached the port of Cadiz on the 15 day of October 1498, where we were well received and sold our slaves. Such is what befel me, most noteworthy, in this my first voyage.

ENDS THE FIRST VOYAGE.

BEGINS THE SECOND.





Second Voyage.

[Woodcut of two Ships at Sea.]

AS for the second voyage, and what I saw in it most worthy of record, it is as follows here. We started from the port of Cadiz, three ships in company, on the 16 day of May 1499¹ and began our voyage in a direct course to the islands of Cape Verde, passing in sight of the island of Great Canary: and sailed on until we dropped anchor at an island which is called the Island of Fire:² and having here taken in our provision of water and firewood, we resumed our voyage towards the south-west:³ and in 44 days⁴ we touched upon a new land: and we deemed that it was [*part of*] a continent, and continuous with that [*land*] of which mention is made above:⁵ the which [*new land*] is situated within the Torrid Zone, and southward of the equinoctial line: above which the southern pole rises to the elevation of 5 degrees, beyond every climate:⁶ and it is 500 leagues distant south-westwardly⁷ from the said islands:⁸ and we found that the days were equal with the nights: for we reached it on the 27 day of June, when

¹ 1499. Latin has 1489, by error. ² *Lisola del fuoco.* ³ *Per illibeccio.*

⁴ The Latin has "19 days," and so has Varnhagen, notwithstanding that his *text* is correct.

⁵ *I.e.*, in the preceding relation of the first voyage. The Latin makes a blunder here, and says, "opposite to," instead of "continuous with." The translator must have read "*contraria*" for "*continua*."

⁶ This means, simply, at 5 degrees south latitude.

⁷ *Per el vento libeccio.*

⁸ *I.e.*, the Canaries.

the sun is nigh the Tropic of Cancer : which land we found to be all overflowed with water and full of very large rivers.¹ As yet² we saw no people : we brought our ships to anchor and put out our boats : in them we pulled to the land, and as I have said, we found it full of the largest rivers and inundated by very great floods which we met with : and we attempted it in many places to see if we could enter therein : and because of the great floods poured by the rivers, however strenuously we strove, we could find no spot that was not inundated : we observed on the waters many tokens that the land was inhabited : and seeing that in this quarter we could not enter it, we decided to return to the ships and to attempt landing in another place : and we weighed our anchors, and sailed east-south-east,³ always coasting the shore which trended in that direction, and in a space of 40 leagues we made attempts to land in several places : and it was all lost time : we found on that coast the sea-currents so strong that they did not allow us to navigate, and they all ran from south-east to north-west : consequently, seeing so many impediments to our navigation, we held a council, and decided to turn our course to the north-west : and we sailed along the land till we arrived at a very fine port : which was formed by a large island that was situated at the mouth, inside of which there was a bay, very deeply indented : and while sailing by the side of the island to enter into the harbour, we beheld many people : and rejoicing thereat, we directed our vessels thither, so as to drop anchor where we saw the people, being probably [*then*] about four leagues away to seaward from them :⁴ and proceeding thus we had sight of a canoe that was coming from the high sea : in which there were coming many persons : and we resolved to seize it :⁵ and we turned our vessels round to meet it, navigating

¹ Varnhagen inserts here (from the Latin) a statement about the greenness of the land, and that it was full of large trees ; which does not at all appear in the text.

² *In questo principio.*

³ *Infra levante e sciloccho.*

⁴ There is some confusion here ; they could hardly have been able to see a crowd of people at four leagues' distance.

⁵ *Haverla alla mano.*

in such order that we should not lose it : and sailing towards it with a brisk breeze,¹ we observed that they were at a stand-still, with their oars lifted, I believe in wonder at our ships : and when they perceived that we were advancing to approach them, they dipped their oars in the water and began to row towards the land : and as in our company there was a caravel of 45 tons, a very quick sailor, she took station to windward² of the canoe : and when it seemed to be time to bear down upon it, [*the caravel*] shook out³ full sail and made for [*the canoe*] and we likewise : and when the caravel came abreast of it and did not seek to board [*the canoe*], she passed by, and then stood still against the wind : and when they saw themselves at a vantage, they began to struggle hard with their oars to escape : and we, who had our boats already astern manned with good crews, thinking that they would take it [*the canoe*], and they laboured for more than two hours, and at last, if the little caravel had not tacked again upon them, we should have lost it [*the canoe*] : and when they found themselves hemmed in by the caravel and the boats, they all flung themselves into the sea, probably some 70 men [*in number*]:⁴ and they were at a distance of about two leagues from land : and following them with our boats, the whole day, we were unable to take more than two of them, for, certain it was, all the others reached the land in safety : and in the canoe there remained four boys : who were not of their tribe : for they brought them as captives from another land : and they had castrated them, for they were all without the virile member, and had the wound still fresh : whereat we marvelled much : and being taken into the ships they told us by signs that [*the men of the canoe*] had castrated them in order to eat them : and we learned that those were a people who are called Camballi, very savage, who ate human flesh. Towing the canoe astern, we made in our ships for the land and anchored at *the* [*distance of*] half a league : and as we saw great numbers of people on the shore, we rowed to the land in our boats, taking with us the two men we had captured : and having landed, all

¹ *Fresco tempo.**Barlovento.*³ *Allargho li apparechi.*⁴ Latin has "20 men."

the people fled away, and betook themselves to the forests: and we let go one of the [two] men, giving him several little bells,¹ and [indicating] that we desired to be their friends: which he [whom] we sent to them effected very well, and brought with him all the tribe, who were about 400 men and many women: who came without any weapons to where we were with our boats: and having made good friendship with them, we restored to them the second captive, and sent to the ships for their canoe and gave it back to them. This canoe was 26 paces long, and two ells² broad, and entirely hollowed out of a single tree, and very elaborately made; and when they had docked it in a river and put it in a safe place, they all fled away, and would no further hold intercourse with us, which seemed to us a quite barbarous action, so that we deemed them a people of little faith and ill condition. With them we saw some little gold which they had in their ears. We departed thence, and made our way to the inner part of the bay:³ where we found such a multitude of people, that it was marvellous: with whom on landing we made a friendship: and many of us went with them to their villages, very safely, and well-received. In this place we obtained⁴ 150 pearls which they gave us in exchange for a little bell, and some little gold which they gave us for nothing:⁵ and in this land we found that they drank a wine made of their fruits and grain, in the manner of beer, both white and red: and the best was made of *myrobalans*,⁶ and was very good: and they ate infinite numbers of these, it being then the season for them. It is a very good fruit, pleasant to the taste, and healthful to the body. The soil abounds greatly with everything they need for subsistence, and the people [were] of polite behaviour and the most pacific we had

¹ *Sonagli*, little bells or rattles.

² *Braccia*.

³ Instead of the simple statement, "and made our way," &c., the Latin inserts "having voyaged along that coast for about eighty leagues we came to a safe harbour," which is absurd, but has apparently influenced Varnhagen, who evidently made the mistake of incautiously referring sometimes to the Latin only and sometimes to the Italian text, thus failing to see all the discrepancies.

⁴ *Rischattammo*. The Latin has 500, instead of 150.

⁵ *Di gratia*.

⁶ *Mirabolani*.

as yet met with. We remained in this harbour for seventeen days with much pleasure : and every day fresh people, from the interior of the country, came to see us, wondering at our appearance and whiteness, and our clothing and arms, and at the shape and great size of the ships. From those people we had information of a tribe that lived further to the west of them, who were their enemies, who had an infinite quantity of pearls : and that those [pearls] which they [our friends] had were what they had taken from them [the enemies] in their wars : and they told us how they fished for them, and in what manner they [the pearls] were produced, and we found that they spoke with truth, as Your Magnificence shall hear. We departed from this harbour and navigated along the coast : on which we continually saw clouds of smoke¹ arising, with people on the beach : and at the end of several days we came to anchor in a harbour, for the purpose of repairing one of our ships, which had sprung a great leak :² where we found that there was a large population : with whom we were not able, neither by force nor for love, to obtain any conversation whatever : and when we went on land, they struggled fiercely to prevent us from doing so : and when they could hold out no longer, they fled through the forests and did not await us. Finding them so barbarous, we went away from hence : and proceeding on our voyage we had sight of an island distant 15 leagues out to sea from the [main-] land : and we decided on going to see if it were inhabited. We found therein the most brutish and loathsome people that were ever seen, and they were on this wise. In behaviour and looks, they were very repulsive : and they all had their cheeks swollen out with a green herb inside, which they were constantly chewing like beasts, so that they could scarcely utter speech : and each one had [suspended] upon his neck, two dried gourds, one of which was full of that herb which they kept in their mouths, and the other [full] of a white flour, which looked like powdered chalk, and from time to time, with a small stick which they kept moistening in their mouths, they dipped it into the flour and then put it into

¹ *Fumalte*, by error for *fumate*. Varnhagen has transcribed *fumatte*.

² *Faceva molta acqua*.

their mouths inside both cheeks, thus mixing with flour the herb which they had in their mouths: and this they did very frequently: and marvelling at such a thing, we were unable to comprehend this secret, nor with what object they acted thus. These people when they saw us, came to us as familiarly as if we had been united with them in friendship: going with them along the beach, talking, and desirous of drinking fresh water, they made signs to us that they had none, and offered us some of that herb and flour of theirs, so that we concluded by inference that this island was poor in water, and that it was to preserve themselves against thirst they kept that herb in their mouths, and the flour for the same [*reason*]. We went through the island for a day and a half without ever finding any flowing water: and we observed that the water which they drank was of a dew which fell by night on certain leaves that looked like asses' ears, and [*which*] became full of water, and hereof they drank: it was most excellent water: and [*i.e., but*] they had not those leaves in many places. They had no form of victuals, nor roots, as on the mainland: and they subsisted on fish which they took in the sea; and of these they had very great abundance, and they were most expert fishermen: and they presented to us many turtles, and many very excellent fish of great size: their women did not use to keep the herb in their mouths like the men, but all [*the women*] carried a gourd with water and drank thereof. They had no villages, neither of houses nor huts, save that they dwelt underneath arbours, which protected them from the sun, and not from the water; for I believe it rained very seldom in that island: when they were at sea fishing, they all had a leaf of great size and so broad, that they were quite in shadow beneath it, and they used to fix it in the ground: and as the sun revolved so did they turn the leaf: and in this manner they protected themselves from the sun. The island contains many animals of various kinds: and they drink marsh-water: and seeing that they had nothing profitable [*for us*] we departed, and took our course to another island: and we found [*afterwards*] that a race of very great stature dwelt therein: we then landed to see if we found [*could find*] fresh water: and imagining that the island was

not inhabited because we saw no people, going along the shore we beheld very large footprints of men on the sand: and we judged, if their other members were of corresponding size, that they must be very big men: and proceeding onwards, we came upon a pathway which led to the interior of the land: and nine of us agreed: and concluded that the island being small could not contain within itself many people: and thereupon we went onward through it, to see what manner of people they were: and after we had gone for about a league, we beheld in a valley five of their huts, which appeared uninhabited: and we made our way to them and found only five women, two old ones and three girls, so lofty in stature that we gazed at them in astonishment: and when they saw us, so much terror overcame them that they had not even spirit to flee away: and the two old women began to invite us with words, bringing us many things to eat, and they put us in a hut: and they were in stature taller than a tall man, so that they would be quite as big of body as was Francesco degli Albizi, but better proportioned: insomuch that we were all of a mind to take away the three girls from them by force: and to carry them to Castile as a prodigy: and while thus discoursing, there began to enter through the door of the hut full 36 men much bigger than the women: men so well built that it was a famous sight to see them: who put us in such uneasiness that we would much rather have been in our ships than in the company of such people. They carried very large bows and arrows, with large knobbed clubs: and they spoke among themselves in such a tone as though they meant to lay hands upon us: seeing that we were in such danger, we debated of various plans among ourselves: some [*of us*] said that we ought to attack immediately in the house: and others that it were better on the open ground [*outside*]: and others who said that we ought not to begin the quarrel until we should see what they meant to do: and we agreed to go forth from the hut and to make our way slily towards the ships: and so we did: and having taken our way we returned to the ships: those [*savages*] however came following behind us, always at the distance of a stone's throw, speaking amongst themselves: I believe that they were no less afraid of

us, than we were of them: because we halted sometimes, and they did the same without approaching nearer, until we reached the shore where the boats were awaiting us: and we entered into them: and when we were at some distance, they danced about and shot many arrows at us: but we had little dread of them now: we fired two gunshots at them, more to terrify them than to do any hurt: and at the explosion they all fled inwards:¹ and so we departed from them, having as it seemed to us escaped from a perilous day's work. They went entirely naked like the others. I call that island, the Isle of Giants, because of their great size: and we proceeded onward still skirting the coast on which it befel us many times to have to fight them, as they sought not to allow us to take anything from the land: and since it was our desire to return now to Castile, as we had been about a year at sea, and had [*but*] a small stock of provisions [*remaining*], and that little damaged by reason of the great heats that we endured: because from the time when we started for the isles of Cape Verde till now, we had continually navigated in the torrid zone, and twice crossed the equinoctial line: for as I have said above we had gone to 5 degrees below it southwardly:² and here we were at 15 degrees north of it.³ Being in this mind, it pleased the Holy Ghost to give us some relief for so much travail: which was, that while we were seeking a harbour wherein to repair our vessels, we met with a nation which received us with great friendliness: and we found that they had a great abundance of very fine oriental pearls: with whom we stayed for 47 days: and we bought from them 119 marks⁴ of pearls for very little merchandize: for I believe they did not cost us the value of forty ducats: since that which we gave them was nothing but little bells and looking-glasses and beads, *dieci-palle*,⁵ and sheets of tin, indeed, for a single little bell a man gave as many pearls as

¹ *Al monte*. Upwards, or to the further end.

² Cape St. Roque.

³ A little north of Caracas, probably 12 degrees (not 15).

⁴ *Marchi, marco*—a weight of eight ounces.

⁵ *Conte, dieci palle et foglie di octone*. *Dieci palle* must be some sort of balls or playing-marbles, perhaps the same as the *spalline* of the first voyage.

he had. From them [*the natives*] we learned how and where they fished for them [*the pearls*]: and they gave us many [*of the*] oysters in which they grew: we bought [*also*] an oyster in which 130 pearls were growing, and others with less: The Queen took¹ from me that with the 130: and others I took care she should not see. And Your Magnificence must know that unless the pearls are matured, and drop out of themselves, they do not last: because they perish quickly: and of this I have had actual experience: when they are mature, they lie within the shell detached and set in the flesh:² and these ones are good: whatsoever bad ones they had, though the most of them were rough and ill-formed, still they were worth good money: because the mark sold for³: and at the end of 47 days we quitted the people, leaving them very friendly towards us. We departed, and through the necessity of our victualling we made for the island of Antiglia⁴ which is the same that Christophal Colombo discovered several years ago: where we took in much store of provision: and remained two months and 17 days:⁵ where we underwent many perils and troubles with the very Christians who were in this island along with Colombo:⁶ I believe through envy: but, in order not to be prolix, I refrain from narrating them. We departed from the said island on the 22 day of July: and we navigated during a month and a half: and entered into the port of Cadiz, which was on the 8 day of September, by daylight, my second voyage: God [*be*] praised.

ENDED THE SECOND VOYAGE.

BEGINS THE THIRD.

¹ From "the Queen took" down to "she should not see" omitted in Latin.

² The text is obscure; the Latin is explicatory, and I presume correct, in its account of the nature of pearls.

³ A blank in the text. From "good" to "sold for" omitted in Latin.

⁴ Hispaniola.

⁵ The Latin "2 months and 2 days."

⁶ "Along with Columbus," omitted in Latin and not noted by Varnhagen.



Third Voyage.

[*Woodcut of a Ship at Sea.*]

BEING afterwards in Seville, resting myself from so many travails that I had in those two voyages undergone, and purposing to return to the land of the pearls: when Fortune not contented with my labours, for I know not how it came into the mind of this most serene King Don Manuel of Portugal, to wish to employ me: and being in Seville without any thought of coming to Portugal, there comes to me a messenger with a letter of his royal crown,¹ which desired me to come to Lisbon to speak with his Highness, promising to give me recompense. I was not of opinion that I should come: I sent away the messenger, saying that I was ill in health, and that when I should be well and his Highness still desired to employ me, that I would do whatever he should command me. And seeing that he could not have me, he decided to send for me [*i.e., to fetch me*] Giuliano di Bartholomeo del Giocondo, residing here in Lisbon, with a commission to bring me by whatever means. The said Giuliano came to Seville: through whose coming and entreaty I was compelled to come:² but my coming was regarded with ill-favour by so many as knew me: because I quitted Castile where honour had been done me, and the King kept me in good

¹ *I.e.*, an official letter from the Crown.

² He means "go," and in the next line "going," but was led to say "come" and "coming" from the consciousness that he was writing his letter in Lisbon.

ownership:¹ the worst was that I went *insalutato hospite*:² and having presented myself before this King [*of Portugal*], he shewed himself pleased with my coming: and prayed me to join the company of three of his ships which were ready to go in discovery of new lands: and as a King's request is a command, I had to consent to whatever he desired of me: and we sailed from this port of Lisbon, three ships in company, on the 10 day of May 1501, and took our route directly for the Island of Great Canary: and we passed in sight of it without halting: and from hence we went skirting along the coast of Africa on the west side: on which coast we exercised our fishing-skill on a kind of fish which are called Parchi;³ where we stopped three days: and from hence we made for the coast of Ethiopia, to a port which is called Besechicce,⁴ which is within the Torrid Zone: over which the North Pole is at an elevation of $14\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, situated in the first climate:⁵ where we remained 11 days, taking in water and firewood: because my intention was to make our seaway southwardly through the Atlantic gulf.⁶ We quitted this Ethiopian port, and navigated south-westwardly,⁷ taking one quarter by south, until after a course of 67 days we anchored at a land which was 700 leagues to the south-west of the said port: and in those 67 days we had the worst weather that ever any seafarer had, through numerous storm-showers,⁸ whirlwinds, and tempests which struck us: because we were in a very adverse season since the greater part of our navigation was continually close to the equinoctial line, for in the month of June it is winter: and we found that the day was equal with the night: and we found that the shadow was always towards the south: it pleased God to shew us new land, and [*this*] was on the 17 day of August: when we anchored at half a league [*from the shore*]: and put out our boats: and went to inspect the land, whether it was inhabited by people, and who these people were: and we found

¹ *In buona possessione* (? "in high consideration," as Latin has it).

² "Without bidding adieu to my host."

³ Portuguese *Pargos*.

⁴ Latin has *Besilicca*.

⁵ That is, $14\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude.

⁶ Ocean.

⁷ *Libeccio*.

⁸ *Aguaseri* (waterspouts?).

that it was inhabited by a people who were worse than animals : however Your Magnificence must understand that as yet ¹ we saw no people, but we perceived well that it was inhabited from many signs that we observed therein : we took possession of it for this most serene King [*Don Manuel*] : ² which land we found to be very pleasant and green, and of goodly appearance : it was 5 degrees towards the south beyond the equinoctial line : and for that day ³ we returned to the ships : and because we were in great want of water and firewood, we determined the next day to return to the shore to provide ourselves with what was needful : and, when on land, we beheld some people on the top of a hill, who stood gazing and did not venture to come down : they were naked, and of the same colour and fashion as were the other former [*savages we had met with elsewhere*] : and although we strove to induce them ⁴ to come and speak with us, we were totally unable to reassure them, for they had no trust in us : and seeing their obstinacy, and [*as*] it was already late, we returned to the ships, leaving on the ground for them several little bells and looking-glasses, and other things within their ken : and when we were at a distance on sea, they descended from the hill and came for the things we had left them, displaying great wonderment at these : and for that day we provided ourselves only with water : the next morning we saw from the ships that the land's people were making many clouds of smoke : and thinking that they were calling us [*to them*] we went on shore where we found that great numbers of them had come, and yet they remained aloof from us : and they made signs to us that we should go with them into the interior of the land : wherefore two of our Christians were moved to ask the Captain that he would give them leave as they wished to undertake the risk of going with those [*savages*] into the land, to see what [*manner of*] people they were, and whether they had any riches, or spices, or druggeries ; and so much did they beseech that the captain was pleased [*to*

¹ *In questo principio.*

The Latin says, by mistake, " King of Castile."

² *Per questo ci di*, by mistake for *per questo di ci*. It is *ita* in Latin.

By signals, of course.

allow it] : and they prepared themselves with many things for barter [*and*] quitted us with the order that they should not be more than 5 days before returning : because we would wait for them just so long : and they took their way through the country : and we [*remained*] by the ships awaiting them : and almost every day people came to the beach and would never hold speech with us : and the seventh day we went on land, and found that they had brought their women with them : and when we leaped to shore, the land's men sent many of their women to speak with us : and seeing they did not become confident, we decided to send one of our men to them, who was a young fellow given to feats of strength,¹ and, to reassure them,² we entered into our boats : and he went among the women : and when he reached them, they made a great circle around him, touching him and gazing at him in wonderment : and while he was thus [*encircled*] we saw a woman come from the hill, and she carried a great stake in her hand : and when she reached to where our Christian stood, she came behind him : and, lifting the club, gave him such a tremendous blow that she stretched him dead on the ground, in an instant the other women took hold of him by the feet and dragged him along by his feet towards the hill : and the men bounded towards the beach, and with their bows and arrows [*began*] to shoot at us : and they put our people into such terror, the boats being held fast by the small anchors which were sunk in the ground, that, because of the numerous arrows [*the natives*] shot into the boats, no one had courage to snatch up his arms : however we fired 4 gunshots at them, and they took no effect, save that on hearing the explosion, they all fled towards the hill and to where the women were already [*cutting*] the Christian into bits : and at a great fire which they had made, they were roasting him before our eyes, holding up several pieces towards us and [*then*] eating them : and the men [*were*] making signs to us by their gestures how they had killed the other two Christians and eaten them : which grieved us greatly, seeing with our eyes

¹ *Che molto faceva lo sforzo.*

² Text has "him," by a typographical error of "lo" for "le."

the cruelty they were exercising on the dead man, to all of us it was an intolerable offence: and more than 40 of us being determined to jump on land and revenge such a cruel death, and an action [so] bestial and inhuman, the Admiral would not give his consent, and so they [*the natives*] remained glutted with so great a villainy:² and we departed from them ill-willingly, and with much shamefulness because of our Captain. We quitted that place, and began our navigation east-south-east, and thus the land trended: and we made many descents on land, and never did we meet a tribe that was willing to hold parley with us: and thus we navigated onward till we found that [*the line of*] the land was turning to south-westward:³ when we doubled a cape, to which we gave the name of Cape St. Augustine,⁴ we began to sail south-west, and this cape is 150 leagues distant to the east of the aforesaid land which we saw, where they slew the Christians: and this cape is 8 degrees south of the equinoctial line: and while [*thus*] sailing we had sight one day of many people who were standing on the beach to behold the wondrous sight of our ships and the manner of our navigation, we directed our course towards them, and anchored in a good place, and made in our boats for land, and found them a better-conditioned people than the last: and although it was a toil to us to tame them, yet we made them our friends and held intercourse with them. We stayed 5 days in this place: and here we found *canna fistola* very thick and green, and dry on the tops of the trees. We decided to take in this place a couple of [*native*] men, so that they should explain for us the language: and there came three of their own free will to come to Portugal: and for the present, tired [*as I am*] already of so much writing, Your Magnificence shall know, that we departed from that port, navigating always within sight of land in a south-west direction, frequently making descents upon shore, and speaking with an infinite number of peoples: and so far did we proceed southwards

¹ *Capitano maggiore.*

³ *Libeccio.*

² *Di tanta ingiuria, wrong-doing.*

⁴ The Latin has St. Vincent.

that we were now beyond the Tropic of Capricorn, where the South Pole was at an elevation of 32 degrees above the horizon: and we had already quite lost [*sight of*] Ursa Minor, and [*Ursa*] Major was very low, and appeared to us to be almost on the line of the horizon, and we guided ourselves by the stars of the other pole [*that*] of the South: which are numerous, and much larger and more brilliant than those of our pole: and I drew diagrams of most of them, and especially of those of the first and greatest magnitude, with an exposition of the orbits which they describe around the southern pole, and a declaration of their diameters and semidiameters, as may be seen in my 4 Giornate:¹ we ran along this coast to the length of 750 leagues, 150 leagues west of the cape called [*Cape*] St. Augustine, and 600² leagues to the south-west: and if I wished to narrate the things which I saw on this coast, and what we underwent, twice the number of leaves [*of paper*] would not suffice me: and on this coast we saw nothing of value,³ except an infinite number of dye-wood and cassia-trees, and those which beget myrrh, and other wonders of nature which cannot be recounted: and having already been fully 10 months voyaging, and seeing that in this land we found nothing of mineral [*wealth*] we decided to hasten away from there, and to put to sea for some other quarter: and having held our council, it was resolved that the course should be followed which I should think fitting: and the command of the fleet was entirely handed over to me: and I then ordered that all the crews and the fleet should provide themselves with water and wood for six months, as the masters of the ships judged that we might navigate in them for so much time. Having taken in our stores from this land, we began our voyage towards the south-east: and it was on the 15⁴ day of February when the sun was already nearing the Equinox, and turning towards this our northern hemisphere: and so long did we sail by that wind, that we

¹ "*Le Quattro Giornate*," the projected book to which he has already made more than one reference.

² Latin has 700.

³ *Proficito*.

⁴ Latin has 13.

found ourselves [*at*] so high¹ [*a latitude*] that the southern pole stood quite 52 degrees above our horizon, and we no longer beheld the stars either of Ursa Minor or Ursa Major: and we were already at a distance of full 500 leagues south-east from the harbour whence we had set out: and this was on the 3 day of April, and on that day there arose a tempest of so much violence upon the sea that we were compelled to haul down all our sails, and we scudded under bare poles before the great wind, which was south-west with enormous waves and a very stormy sky: and so fierce was the tempest that all the fleet was in great dread: the nights were very long: so that on the seventh day of April we had a night which was 15 hours long: for the sun was at the end of Aries: and in that region it was winter [*then*] as Your Magnificence may well consider, and while in this tempest on the seventh² day of April, we had sight of a new land, along which we ran for about 20 leagues, and found that it was wholly a rough coast:³ and we beheld therein neither any harbour nor any people, because, as I believe, of the cold which was so intense that no one in our fleet could fortify himself against it or endure it: insomuch that, finding ourselves in so great a danger and in such a tempest that one ship could hardly see another for the great billows that were running and for the deep gloominess⁴ of the weather, we agreed with the Admiral⁵ to signal to [*the rest of*] the fleet to approach and that we should abandon [*this*] land: and turn round in the direction of Portugal: and it was a very good resolve: for it is certain that if we had delayed that night, we had all been lost: because when we turned a-stern,⁶ both that night and the next day, the tempest grew to such a height that we were in fear of being lost: and we had to make [*vows of*] pilgrimage and other ceremonies, as is the custom of sailors at such times: we scudded for 5 days,⁷ and kept

¹ So high—that is, so far south.

² 2nd April, Latin.

³ *Costa brava* in the Spanish sense.

⁴ *Serrazon*, from the Portuguese *cerração*.

⁵ *Capitano maggiore*.

⁶ *Come arrivammo a poppa*, from Spanish *arribar*.

⁷ In Latin there is added here "in which five days we made 250 leagues of sea-passage."

still drawing nearer to the equinoctial line, with the weather and the sea [*becoming*] more temperate: and it pleased God that we should escape from so great a peril: and our course was with the wind between north and north-east:¹ because our intention was to go and reconnoitre the coast of Ethiopia,² as we were distant therefrom [*only*] 300³ leagues across the gulf of the Atlantic Sea: and by the grace of God on the 10 day of May we came to a land therein, [*lying*] southward, which is called La serra liona:⁴ where we stayed 15 days, taking our refreshment: and from here we departed taking our course towards the islands of the Azores, which are distant about 750 leagues from this place of the Serra: and we reached the islands at the end of July: where we stayed 15 days more, taking some recreation: and we quitted them for Lisbon: being [*then*] 300 leagues to the west [*of it*]: and we entered into this port of Lisbon on the 7 day of September 1502, in good condition, God be thanked, with two ships only: because we [*had*] burnt the other in Serra liona: as it was disabled from further navigation, for we were about 15⁵ months on this voyage: and for 11 days we navigated without seeing the Polar Star, or the Greater and Lesser Bear, which are called the Corno:⁶ and we steered by the stars of the other hemisphere. This is what I saw in this voyage or giornata.

¹ *Tramontano* and *greco*.

² Africa.

³ Like Varnhagen, I read this distance as 300 leagues, but the text may mean either "1300," or "in 300," and is more like the former.

⁴ Sierra Leone.

⁵ Latin has 16.

⁶ *Corno*—evidently a typographical error for *carro*, the Wain.





Fourth Voyage.

[*Woodcut of a Ship at Anchor, two figures in it, and one on land; towers in the background.*]

IT remains for me to tell the things seen by me in the fourth voyage, or giornata: and as I am already wearied, and also because this fourth voyage was not carried out in accordance with the purpose I [*had*] formed, through a mishap which befel us in the gulf of the Atlantic Sea, as Your Magnificence shall learn briefly in the sequel: I will endeavour to be brief. We departed from this port of Lisbon 6 ships in company, with the intention of going to discover an island towards the east, which is called Melaccha: of which there are news that it is very rich, and that it is as it were the storehouse of all the ships which come from the Gangetic sea and from the Indian Sea, (just as Cadiz is the waiting-room¹ of all the vessels which pass from east to west, and from west to east) by the route of Galigut,² and this Melaccha is more westerly than Caligut, and much more to the southward:³ for we know that it lies at the level⁴ of 33⁵ degrees of the antarctic hemisphere. We departed on the 10 day of May 1503 and made directly for the isles of Cape Verde, where we careened, and took some manner of

¹ *Camera*.

² This puzzling sentence leads us to infer that the object was a South-west passage to India. When he says that Malacca was west of Calicut, he means probably that it was nearer to his New World. The brackets inserted here are not in the original.

³ Mistranslated in the Latin. *Alta* is an error for *alla*. ⁴ *Paraggio*.

⁵ As Varnhagen justly corrects, this must have been meant for "3."

refreshment, where we stayed 13¹ days: and from here we departed on our voyage, sailing by the south-east wind: and as our Admiral was a presumptuous and very obstinate man, he would go to examine Serra liona, a land of Southern Ethiopia, without having any need except to make it be seen that he was Captain of six ships, against the wish of all the rest of us Captains: and thus navigating, when we reached the said land, so great were the whirlwinds that struck us, and with them the weather so adverse, that [although] we were in sight of it [the shore] quite four days, the foul weather never allowed us to land: so that we were compelled to return to our proper course, and to quit the said Serra: and navigating hence to the *suduest* which is the wind between south and south-west:² and when we had sailed full 300 leagues through the immensity³ of the sea, being then quite 3 degrees south of the equinoctial line, we became aware of a land from which we were probably 22⁴ leagues distant: whereat we marvelled: and we found that it was an island in the middle of the sea and was very lofty, a very marvellous work of nature: since it was no more than two leagues in length and one in breadth: in which island, never had there been inhabitation by any people: and it was Bad Island⁵ for all the fleet: for Your Magnificence must know that by the ill-counsel and management of our Admiral he lost his ship here: since he struck with it upon a rock, and it split open on St. Laurence's night, which was on the 10 day of August, and went to the bottom: and there was nothing saved thereof except the crew. It was a ship of 300 tons: in which went all the importance of the fleet: and when all the fleet were labouring to save it, the Chief commanded me to make with my ship for the said island to seek a good anchorage, where all the ships might anchor: and as my boat manned with 9 of my sailors was engaged and aiding to belay the ships, he

¹ Latin has "12," and misunderstands the *careenage*.

² *Infra mezzo di e libeccio*. *Suduest* is a typographical blunder for *sudsudueste*.

³ *Mōstro* (?).

⁴ Latin has "*duodecim*."

⁵ *La mala isola*, Fernando Noronha.

⁶ *Ligare* (? bind together).

willed that I should not take it, and that I should proceed without it: telling me that they should take it to me at the island: I quitted the fleet for the island as he ordered me, without a boat, and with the deficiency of half my crew, and I went to the said island, which was about 4 leagues distant: in which I found an excellent harbour, where all the ships could anchor very safely: where I awaited my Chief and the fleet fully 8 days, and they never came: so that we were very discontented, and the men that had remained with me in the ship were in such dread, that I was unable to console them: and being thus, the eighth day we beheld a ship coming upon the sea, and from fear that it might not see us, we weighed with our ship,¹ and made for it, thinking that it brought me my boat and crew: and when we came along-side of it, after having saluted, they told us how the admiral's ship had gone to the bottom, and how the crew had been saved, and that my boat and crew had remained with the fleet, which had gone further on that sea, which was to us so great an annoyance as Your Magnificence may conceive, finding ourselves 1000 leagues away from Lisbon, and on the ocean,² and with a little crew: however we set our prow³ at Fortune, and went still onward: we returned to the island, and provided ourselves with water and timber by means of my companion's boat: which island we found uninhabited, and it contained many fresh and sweet waters,⁴ innumerable trees, [*and was*] full of so many sea and land birds that they were beyond count: and they were so tame, that they allowed themselves to be taken with the hand: and so many of them did we take that we loaded a boat with those animals: we saw none [*other*] except very large rats and lizards with double tails, and some snakes: and having made our provision, we departed by the wind betwixt south and south-west, for we had an ordinance of the King which commanded us that whichever of the ships should lose sight of the fleet or of its Chief, should make for the land that we discovered in the previous voyage, at a harbour to which we had given the name of

¹ *Nostre navi* for *nostra nave*. He had only one (see *supra*).

² *Golfo*.

³ *Facemmo rostro*.

⁴ That is, streams or springs.

Badia di tucti e sancti:¹ and it pleased God to give us such good weather, that in 17 days we reached land therein, which was distant from the island full 300 leagues: where we found neither our Admiral nor any other ship of the fleet: in which harbour we waited quite two months and 4 days: and seeing that there was no arrival, we agreed, my partner and I, to run the coast: and we sailed 260 leagues further on, till² we arrived in a harbour: where we decided to construct a fort, and we did so: and left therein 24 Christian men whom my partner had for us, whom she had collected from the flagship³ that had been lost: in which port we stayed quite 5 months making the fortress and loading our ships with verзино:⁴ as we were unable to proceed further, because we had not men [*enough*] and I was deficient of many pieces of ship-tackle. All this done, we determined to turn our course towards Portugal, which lay in the direction of the wind between north-east and north:⁵ and we left the 24 men who remained in the fort with provision for six months, and [*with*] 12 big guns⁶ and many other arms, and we pacified all the land's people: of whom no mention has been made in this voyage: not because we did not see and traffic with an infinite number of them: for we went, quite 30 men of us, 40 leagues inland: where I saw so many things that I omit to tell them, reserving them for my 4 Giornate. This land lies 18 degrees south of the equinoctial line, and 37 degrees to the west of the longitude of Lisbon, as is demonstrated by our instruments. And all this being done, we took leave of the Christians and the land: and began our navigation to *nornordeste*,⁷ which is the wind between north and north-east, with the intention of making our navigation in a direct course to this city of Lisbon: and in 77 days, after so many travails and perils, we entered into this port on the 18 day of June 1504, God [*be*] praised: where we were received very well and beyond all belief:

¹ Mistake for *Bahia de todos os Santos*. This confusion of *d* and *h* in Vespucci's handwriting led to a long-continued error in the maps.

² *Tiã*, for *tãto*, so far that, until.

³ *Nave capitana*.

⁴ Brazil-wood, or dye-wood.

⁵ *Greco* and *tramontano*.

⁶ *Bombarde*.

⁷ It is printed *nornodeste*.

because all the city believed us lost: since the other ships of the fleet had all been lost through the arrogance and folly of our Admiral, for so does God reward pride: and at present I find myself here in Lisbon, and I know not what the King will want to do with me, for I desire much to take repose.¹ The present bearer, who is Benvenuto di Domenico Benvenuti, will tell your Magnificence of my condition, and of some things which, for prolixity, have been left unsaid: for he has seen and felt them, God be.....² I have gone on compressing the letter as much as I could, and there have been omitted to be told many natural things,³ because of avoiding prolixity. May Your Magnificence pardon me: whom I beseech to hold me in the number of your servants: and I recommend to you Ser Antonio Vespucci, my brother, and all my family. I remain, praying of God that he may increase the days of your life, and that the state of this sublime Republic and the honour of Your Magnificence may be exalted, etc. Given in Lisbon on the 4 day of September 1504.

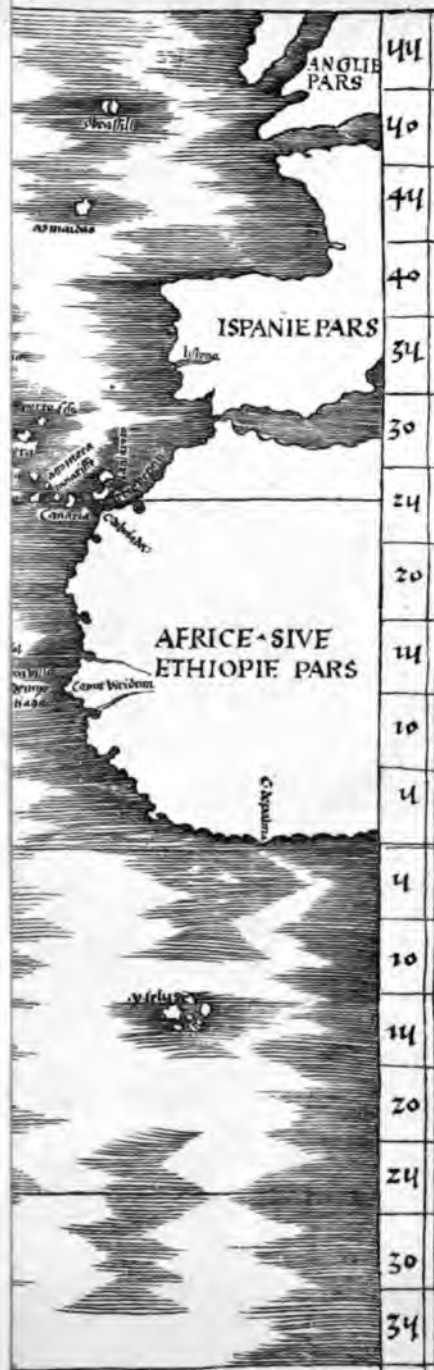
[*Your*] servant AMERIGO VESPUCCI in Lisbon.

¹ The Latin substitutes "this messenger in the meantime commending much to your Majesty. Americus Vesputius. In Lisbon," for all the text which follows the word "repose."

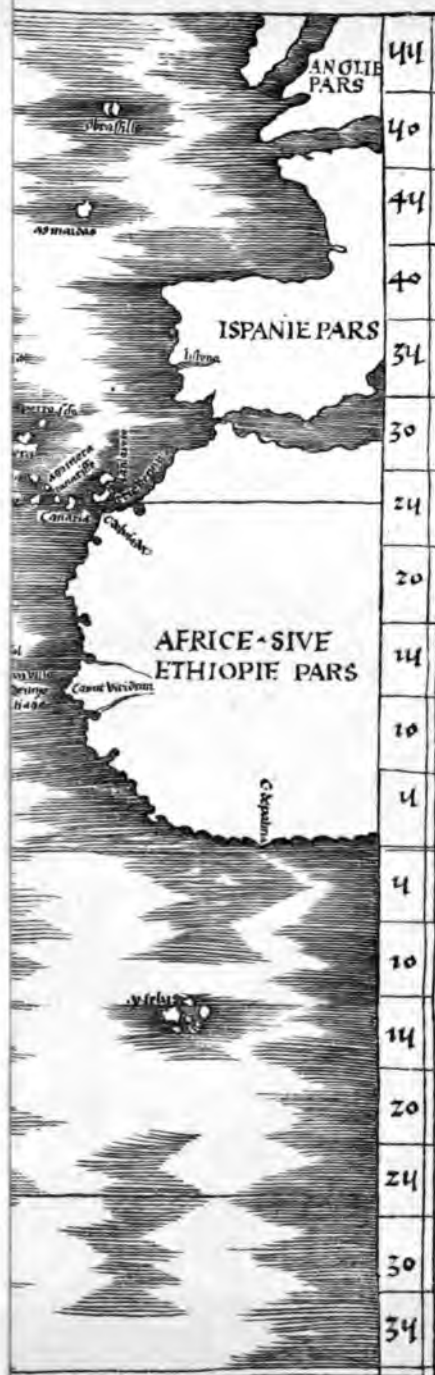
² *Dio sia ô cli*, followed by a blank. This is incomprehensible, and may be "God be" (something not understood by the printer), or *dî sui occhi* ("with his own eyes"), which would imply that Benvenuto had accompanied Vespucci in this voyage.

³ Things relating to natural history.





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